

The Seminario di Studi Asiatici of the Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples is glad to be able to include in its Series Minor this work by the scholar of Tajik literature Dr Jíří Bečka.

The volume, which does not necessarily reflect the views of the Seminario, was written on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Sadriddin Ayni, which UNESCO numbered amongst the anniversaries of great personalities for 1978.

Its publication was planned for that year, but technical difficulties arose which caused its appearance to be delayed until now.



Fig. 1 - Sadriddin Ayni in the thirties,

ISTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO ORIENTALE
SEMINARIO DI STUDI ASIATICI



Series Minor
V

AA. 343

inv. 43818

JIRI BEČKA

SADRIDDIN AYNİ
FATHER OF MODERN TAJIK CULTURE



NAPLES 1980



This book is dedicated to the Centenary of the birth
of Sadriddin Ayni
recognized by UNESCO
among the anniversaries
of great personalities in 1978

CONTENTS

Central Asia since the end of the 19th century	7
The life of Sadriddin Ayni	29
Sadriddin Ayni, the founder of Soviet Tajik prose	43
Sadriddin Ayni the poet	65
Sadriddin Ayni the scholar	77
Conclusions	95
Bibliography - History of Central Asia	103
Writings of Sadriddin Ayni	106
Publications on S.Ayni, his writings and activities	109

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig. 1 - Sadriddin Ayni in the thirties.
- Fig. 2 - The mausoleum of Ismail Samani (9th-10th century) in Bukhara.
- Fig. 3 - Sadri Ziyo (1865-1931), an enlightened man of letters from Bukhara and a sponsor of S. Ayni.
- Fig. 4 - S. Ayni in the Kogon hospital where he was undergoing medical treatment after being punished with 75 strokes. Reprinted from *Namunayi adabiyoti tojik* (44).
- Fig. 5 - A cartoon from the magazine "Molla Nasreddin", from 1909. It presents the Bukhara Emir whose good cheer has been disturbed by Gelejek (Future). Reprinted from the book by A. Bennigsen and Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejay, (7a).
- Fig. 6 - A contemporary cartoon of Enver Pasha. The word "gazavat", i.e. *ghazāvat*, means "war for faith".
- Fig. 7 - The article on the relations between Afghanistan and Bukhara, published in the magazine "Shu'layi inqilob", 3rd February 1921, p. 2, by S. Ayni.
- Fig. 8 - The wrapper of Ayni's book, *Materials for the History of the Bukhara Revolution*, 1926 (45).
- Fig. 9 - The title page of the novel *Gbulomon* (56) published in Latin script in Dushanbe (1935).
- Fig.10 - The manuscript of the 1st chapter of Ayni's novel, *Margi sudkbur* (62).
- Fig.11 - Sadriddin Ayni with Bobojon Gafurov.
- Fig.12 - Sadriddin Ayni at work.
- Fig.13 - The quatrain introducing the book *Yoddoshto*, (75), above in the contemporary script, i.e. the adapted Russian script, beneath in the old Arabic script used in Central Asia till 1929.
- Fig.14 - The title page of S. Ayni's historical book, *Temurmaliq, the Hero of Tajik People* (71). A later edition, Dushanbe 1961.
- Fig.15 - The French translation of a selection from the *Yoddoshto* (75), Paris 1956.
- Fig.16 - A page from the *Semi-explicative Dictionary* by S. Ayni (83).
- Fig.17 - Tajik writers welcoming S. Ayni in Dushanbe, on his arrival from Samarkand.
- Fig.18 - S. Ayni elected the first President of the Tajik Academy of Sciences, in 1951.

Central Asia since the end of the 19th century

From the middle of the 19th century, the history of Central Asia was marked by the competition of two big powers: Tsarist Russia and Great Britain. The British were expanding their dominated territories in India and in the middle of the 19th century they stood on the border of Afghanistan. In the period of the "forward policy", the most suitable appeared to be the plans of those generals who wanted to subject Afghanistan in order to make the Indian colonies more secure; this resulted in two Anglo-Afghan Wars, in 1838-1842 and 1878-1880. Tsarist Russia too had previously enlarged its domain in Asia and reached the Kazakh steppes in Central Asia in the middle of the 19th century (23, p.18 ff). The region of Orenburg had been occupied earlier, Tashkent fell in 1865, and in 1868 Tsarist troops commanded by Kaufman started to occupy the territory north of the Afghan border. The British considered it a threat to India. The Russians denied their accusations, but nobody knew what plans were being conceived by the Tsarist generals and their superiors. The Russians were successful. Without much trouble they occupied a considerable part of the territory north of the Amu Darya and formed dependent regions of two types here. One was a direct colony, the so-called Turkestan General Government with Tashkent as its centre. It was here that the General Governor resided, subordinated directly to the Tsar and called "*yarimposho*"¹ in the

¹ All Tajik names and titles have been transliterated here from their forms used in contemporary Tajik, i.e. from the adapted Russian script used nowadays. The only exceptions are the commonly used names as well as those relating exclusively to Persian culture, in which case the contemporary Persian pronunciation has been used as the basis of transliteration. In the Bibliography, a somewhat different sort of transliteration with diacritical marks will be found agreeing more adequately with the original forms and making the re-transliteration into the original language and script possible.



territory, which means "half-tsar". The southern part remained formally under the original rulers but was in fact subjected to the rule of the Tsar- it became a protectorate without any right to its own foreign policy. It was composed of the Khiva Khanate, the Khokand Khanate (only till 1876 when its territory was annexed to Russian Turkestan) and the Bukhara Emirate, the largest of all. The Tsarist army did not meet with serious opposition during its advance. The contemporary Bukhara court historian Mirzo Abdulkarim Somi (died in 1907/8) characterized the Bukhara army, in his *Ta'rikhi salotini manghitiya* (History of the Manghit Rulers), in the following words: "All the magnificence of the kingdom lies in five or six detachments of *sarbozes* (soldiers), the majority of whom are thieves and gamblers, some being stupid and crazy and others crippled and blind, who have never heard a single rifle shot. As a new measure, a special 'Caucasus' army has been created which is called 'the state personal guard'. It consists of effeminate men. Whenever a youngster wins a fight he is taken and attached to the Caucasians. The *sarbozes* are clad in gay uniforms of any sort ... When thieves or robbers are caught, instead of being punished they are given arms and turned into *sarbozes* because there is no robbery without army. As commanders such persons have been appointed that I am ashamed to use my pen to describe ... "2. The Bukhara illuminist Ahmad Donish, at the end of the 19th century, tells that during a campaign of Tsarist troops, the contemporary Emir Muzaffar (1860-1885) decided to occupy the neighbouring Khokand, ruined Uzgand and "took a large number of Muslims into captivity", instead of concentrating his forces against the colonial army. Donish proceeds to describe how high officers of Bukhara recommended the Emir to march towards Tashkent where Tsarist occupation troops were garrisoned. But the Emir refused, reasoning that "some Russian subject won at Tashkent and it does not become the Emir to fight with him. If I ever march out, it will be directly against Moscow". "The Emir was able to say such words,"

2 Mirza Abdul'azim Sami, *Ta'rikhi salātini manghitiya*. Ed. by L.M.Epifanova, Moscow 1962, p.119, manuscript sheet No. 109b.

continues Donish, "only because he imagined Russia to be some sort of Central Asian Khanate. He had defeated them all and fancied he would defeat Russia as well ... As the Emir Muzaffar was essentially stupid and narrow-minded, he was unable to understand the difference between Russia and the Emirate" ³. Muzaffar concentrated a large army against the Russians, allegedly 200 thousand persons, but untrained and unarmed, and marched them against the Russians at Jizzakh. The Russians had no more than one thousand and a half or two thousand soldiers. When the decisive battle took place, "the Emir was sitting under a canopy in the rear playing chess. Singers were singing *gbazals* in front of him and he himself beat time with his foot. From time to time he sent servants to order the commander of the artillery Salimbiy and the commander-in-chief Sherali not to allow the soldiers to plunder the treasury of the Russians and to take as many prisoners as possible". They were to be used later for the service in the Emir's army. The army was headed by the Turkmen Yahyokhoja who was an *okbund* - an army priest. He was said to throw "the loose end of his turban on his back, holding a large sheet of paper in his hand, and in his stupidity he called on the soldiers to make the holy war with courage. In the meantime, however, the Russians took hold of our guns (i.e. the Bukhara ones, J.B.) and fired a few times ... Everybody took to flight ... " ⁴. The relatively advanced military equipment naturally defeated the corrupt army of the Emir as well as the fanaticism of the Bukhara students of religious schools, the *madrasas*, who marched to fight with sticks with pieces of iron attached to the ends.

The Emir fled to the city of Bukhara. The fate of Samarkand, the second largest centre of the Bukhara Emirate, was sealed. The inhabitants did not resist and Samarkand was occupied in 1868. The Emir sent a messenger to General Kaufman offering armistice. The Tsarist army was able, in the military sense, to subject completely

³ A.Donish, *Asarhoi muntakhab*, Stalinobod 1959, p.35ff. Among the Emirs of the Manghit dynasty, Donish does not find a single positive personality.

⁴ Op. cit., p.40 ff.

the whole territory north of the Amu Darya but for diplomatic reasons (fearing the interference of Great Britain) as well as political-administrative ones they let the Bukhara Emirate retain its formal independence. Kaufman accepted Muzaffar's offer and on the 23rd of June 1868, an agreement was signed according to which a part of the Bukhara Emirate became part of Russia (the Russian Turkestan), the Russian government introducing a number of reforms which were undoubtedly accepted willingly by a considerable part of the population - "it abolished slavery, dismissed the tax collectors of the former rulers, introduced a system of elected courts ..." (22, p.16). At the same time, however, securing many benefits to its own subjects, it monopolized steam navigation on the Amu Darya, and the right to own landed property in the territory of the Emirate. Russian businessmen were allowed to do business without hindrance and could not be charged with higher taxes than 2.5% of the price of their merchandise, etc. Bukhara also lost the right to negotiate directly with foreign countries (29, p.257). The Tsarist government gained the right to build telegraph lines in the subjected territory, to organize the postal service, etc. In 1873 Khiva was also subjected to Russia in a similar way and after the insurrection in Khokand in 1873, this small Khanate was liquidated and its territory annexed to the Turkestan General Government, under the name of Ferghana (Farghona) District. When Sadriddin Ayni was six years old, in 1884, the Tsarist army concluded its occupation of Central Asia by occupying Merv (Mary) and Kushka.

The 1868 agreement was supplemented several times, always resulting in a closer dependence on St. Petersburg. In 1866 the Russian Tsarist Political Agency was established in Bukhara. The Political Agent residing in New Bukhara (Kogon), twelve kilometres from the old city of Bukhara, was the official representative of the Tsarist government in Bukhara, which conducted all negotiations with the Emir through him. At the same time, the Agent held the office of Consul protecting personal and property rights of Russian citizens living in the Emirate. The penetration of Russian capital contributed to a further subjugation of Bukhara to the Tsarist government. The process was accelerated after the 1880's when the Transcaspian

Railway was built⁵. Also local economy was gradually penetrated by capitalist elements which disturbed the hitherto patriarchal-feudal relations. The Bukhara Emirate fell into the sphere of the economic and political life of Tsarist Russia. In 1895 it became part of the Russian customs system; Russian customs-houses were opened in the Bukhara territory and Russian border-guards were stationed on the Amu Darya. After the Russian customs line had been shifted to the Russia-Afghanistan border, the independent economy of the Emirate came to an end and the country was turned into an organic part of the Russian internal market. Bukhara was changed mostly into a supplier of raw materials, especially cotton. In 1892 the Moscow International Bank was opened in the city of Bukhara and in 1898 no less than 12,150 Russian citizens resided in the Emir's territory. On the other hand, however, the Tsarist government substantially helped the Emir to enlarge and consolidate his power, between the seventies and the nineties, by enabling him to subjugate in a definitive way all the territories of so-called Eastern Bukhara (approximately the territory of the present-day Tajik S.S.R.), till then independent or semi-dependent, ruled by various petty feudal lords, such as Baysun, Kurghonteppa, Hisor and Sherobod, in which about half a million inhabitants lived (10, p.9). Besides, on the basis of the Russian-English Treaty on the boundaries (1895), the Emir gained the Western part of the Pamir: Shughnan, Roshan, Vakhn and Ishkashim on the right bank of Panj, the upper part of Amu Darya. "Supported by the help and the backing of the Tsarist army, the Emir was able to consolidate his power in Eastern Bukhara and to secure his territory against Afghanistan" (10, p.93).

Bukhara remained a theocratic state based on the feudal system of production. The Emir was the *Khalifa* of all the Muslims of Central Asia. The predominant part of all land was owned by the nobility, the so-called *sipoh*, *shoh* or *naukar*, whereas the farmers turned over

⁵ The importance of this railroad was evaluated by the Czech author, Jan Václík (1830-1918), in his Russian book, *Zakaspijskaja zbelezsnaja doroga. Yeyo znachenie i budushchnost*, St. Petersburg 1888.

more than a half of their crops to the feudal lords (9, p.437). Even after the Russian occupation, the backward administration of the Emirate was not changed. In the process of strengthening the central government, the Emir divided his territory into 27 *bekliks* (provinces) run by *beks* or *hokims*. Court affairs were conducted by the *qozis*, on the basis of Islamic law, the *shariat*; the inhabitants' obedience to religious prescriptions was controlled by the *rais* who went round the mosques during the first morning prayer (*namozi bomdod*) and, assisted by the *imam*, stated who was not taking part in the prayer. Such a person was brought up and punished with a belt carried by the servant, called the *durradast*, who was in charge of punishments. During the day, the *rais* controlled that people did not remain in the streets during day-time prayers (31, p.294). The *muftis*, experts in the *shariat*, expounded law and gave opinions on the correctness of various measures. Taxes were collected by the *amlodors*. The highest employees were not paid any salary by the Emir but were assigned a certain amount of land (*tanbo*) and farmsteads from which not only a large part of the crop was at their disposal, but they could also obtain a supply of labour for their residences and girls for their harems, etc. According to a report of the Political Agent of Bukhara, "Mirzo Yuldoshbek Biy ... took away the farmers' daughters for the Emir's *dukhtarkhona* (harem) by force. Four out of five Tajiks who protested against this despotism were ordered by Mirzo Yuldosh to be cruelly beaten and then bound to trees with their hands tied, during which time Yuldosh was having his lunch in the shadow of a tree ..." (10, p.19). The situation of the peasants who constituted the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants and who were the creators of the national income was extremely bad⁶. The agricultural technical equipment was extraordinarily outdated and, for the Emir,

⁶ A.P.Fomčenko, *Russkie poselenija v Bukharskom emirate*, Tashkent 1958, p.12. Russian citizenship was accepted, however, also by Central Asian individuals, in order to avoid the jurisdiction of the Emir's administration. See, e.g., 84, Vol.4, p.157 (The figures printed in italics, in the text as well as the notes, refer to the items in the Bibliography appended at the end).

agriculture meant nothing more than a source of his personal income⁷. There was a large number of taxes and assessments on everything; as S. Ayni put it, "in Bukhara only the air was not assessed". According to archive documents, "the land-tax was officially assessed to equal from one third to one seventh of the crop, but in fact not seldom reached a half, in Eastern Bukhara. In Western Bukhara, e.g. in Old Bukhara, four out of ten *batmans* went to the treasury of the Emir ..." (14, p.35). It is easy to understand that the impoverished peasants protested against this despotism from time to time, and history has preserved much information on peasants' revolts. The most serious of them was the Vose's revolt in Kulob and Baljuvon, in 1885. It was reflected in the local folklore in an outstanding manner, and has become a frequent theme of poetry, prose and drama, in the Soviet period.

Towards the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century, the process of the farmers' loss of their land was accelerated. The most significant reason was the indebtedness to the usurers whose interests were so exorbitant that the farmer was soon not able to repay the multiplied debt⁸. This process was depicted in a masterly way by Ayni in his novel *Margi sudkbur* (The Usurer's Death, 62). After losing their land, the peasants were entirely dependent on cultivating fields in natural tenure which was of semi-slavish character. The tenant was often left only one third, one fifth or even a smaller part of the crop (14, p.54). A similar relation of strong dependence existed, however, also among craftsmen. The overwhelming majority of workers hired by a richer craftsman obtained the so-called *bunak*, a sum paid in advance which bound them to work for the entrepreneur who had paid it. If the worker wanted to break off the contract of service, he was obliged to return the money, which he was often not able to do. The government did not expend a single penny on health matters and the first medical

⁷ The Emir had a deposit of 27 million golden roubles in the Russian State Bank, besides 8 million in private banks.

⁸ The debt was often raised by 5% every week. Cf 15, pp.3, 141.

institution in Bukhara was founded by the Russians in 1905. The relation of the Emir's government to the subjects is well characterized by a letter sent by a bigwig of the Emir in reply to the inquiry of the commander of border-guards as to the cause of the death of 300 people in a ferry disaster on the Amu Darya: "The accident is due to Allah's will; as many people were rescued as Allah wished and many have also perished by His will. Let it not disturb the General, to be sure, for the inhabitants are not counted by the Emir and it is of no avail to the Emir whether there are a few more or less people"⁹. In his report for 1915, a Russian doctor practising in Bukhara wrote: "The casualties caused by malaria among the inhabitants are immense. At least 3-4 people die in every house in Old Bukhara". As late as in 1926-1928, the Institute of Tropical Diseases in Bukhara stated that only 40% children lived to be fifteen and only 4.3% to be sixty. Besides malaria, there were frequent epidemics of cholera and other diseases; during one of them, in 1889, Ayni lost both his parents and during another one, he himself fell seriously ill (80, p.40 ff).

The cultural level was very low too. School education was the monopoly of Islamic priests. It is true that in every small locality there was a *maktab*, a basic school attached to the mosque and attended mostly by boys. There were also, in Central Asia, dozens and hundreds of *madrasas*, higher schools where tens of thousands persons studied for ten, fifteen or even thirty years, at the same time, however, only about 1% of all the population, mostly men, were able to read and write, in the whole territory of the Bukhara Emirate. It was the result of the fact that at the *maktabs*, children learned at most to recite a few lines from the Koran which they did not understand because they were in Arabic, and perhaps a few lines of Tajik and Uzbek poetry of love or philosophy which they were not able to comprehend. Even at the *madrasas*, the teaching had no connection with life and was confined exclusively to theological subjects and the Arabic language, the textbooks used being from the 12th-14th

9 D.Logofet, *Strana bespraviya*, St. Petersburg 1909, p.82.

centuries (cf. 21, p.35 ff). Though it was the Central Asian doctor and philosopher of the 10th-11th century, Abu Ali Ibn Sina (Avicenna) who dominated European medicine from the 12th to the 17th centuries, practically neither medicine nor other natural sciences were taught at Central Asian *madrasas*. Also Ayni bore a testimony to this fact in his writings (91) ¹⁰.

Though the Tsarist government did not interfere much with the internal affairs of the Bukhara Emirate because its feudal backwardness suited well the intentions of the Russians, a gust of fresh wind, of new ideas, reached even this lost corner of the Islamic world (2, p. 48 ff). Towards the end of the century, some more freely thinking people started to voice their discontent with the order in the country and began to understand where the cause of poverty and backwardness was to be sought. It was especially those who had learned to know Europe by personal experience. An outstanding personality was the above-mentioned Bukhara scholar and writer, Ahmad Donish called Kalla (1826-1896) who had visited Russia three times and then voiced new ideas in his treatises, *Navodir ul-vaqoye'* (Remarkable Events) and *Risola* (Treatise). He had several followers such as the poets from craftsmen's circles, Asiri of Khojand, Shohin etc. Also Ayni stated that it was Donish who opened his eyes and it was not until reading his writings that he was able to understand that the situation of Central Asia was not a thing lasting for ever, but that it could be changed. The Tsarist administration did not interfere with schools almost at all, nevertheless here also the more advanced Russian schools for the children of Russian immigrants were influencing local people more and more as an example. The St. Petersburg government fostered these efforts because it was in need of local persons with middle education and a knowledge of Russian for lower administrative purposes. Since 1886 it started founding the so-called Russian-

¹⁰ In 1907 this theme was treated by the Czech traveller in Central Asia, Em. Fait, in his article, *Das Schulwesen im russischen Zentralasien*, "Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien", Vienna 1907, pp.351-359, 446-458. Cf. also 21.

Domestic Lower Schools at which the Koran, the principles of Islam, but also basic knowledge of other subjects were taught. Besides, Russian schools for immigrants were being founded, sometimes attended also by the children of local rich businessmen and dignitaries. This was reflected in the territory of the Bukhara Emirate, too. The so-called New Method Schools started to arise here, at which also Sadriddin Ayni worked as a teacher. The poet Payrav Sulaymoni (1899-1933) secretly attended a Russian school in Kogon, in 1916-1919¹¹.

After Central Asia had been dominated by Tsarist batallions, Russian businessmen and industrialists started to conquer this area economically. Russia which was dependent on the import of cotton from the United States wanted to build up a basis of raw materials in Central Asia where there was a tradition of growing cotton, though of inferior quality. Russian entrepreneurs endeavoured to establish cotton plantations first. These experiments failed, however (9, p.427), after which they used local buying agents for purchasing large amounts of cotton so that old semi-feudal relations in cotton-growing were retained. It is easy to understand that even such measures as the introduction of a better, long-fibre sort of cotton or higher import taxes on cotton from the U.S.A. did not bring any profit to petty growers, but the businessmen and sub-dealers. Central Asia thus quickly became the supplier of raw materials to the textile industry of Russia. In 1885 the railway was extended to Ashkhabad, in 1891 to Samarkand and in 1898 to Tashkent. In 1905 the Transcaspian and the Orenburg Railways were connected. In Farghona (Fergana in Russian) oil started to be extracted, in Samarkand coal was mined and the first factories were established. In 1905 about thirty-two thousand factory workers lived in Central Asia, out of whom about 77% were of local origin. Many men used to come here from the

¹¹ Let us note that this young poet made friends with the Czech prisoner of war and later doctor, Josef Aul (1894-1956). See Irzhi Bechka, *Yoddoshti yak adib va olimi chekh dar borai Payrav Sulaymoni*, "Sharqi surkh", 1958, No.12, pp.120-123.

territory of the Bukhara Emirate every year to work as seasonal workers, especially in building railroads. S.Ayni mentioned it in his Bukhara Revolution (45, p.40), when he described how these workers were robbed by the Emir's customs officers when returning home with their earnings.

Capitalist enterprise gradually spread also to the territory of the Emirate - in 1913, there were fifty-two firms organized according to a capitalist system here (15, p.115). In such enterprises people had to work for ten-twelve hours per day, sometimes even sixteen, children were often used for work, and local Uzbek and Tajik workers and miners earned only 80 kopecks instead of 1.5 roubles (15, p.122), which resulted in ethnic spite.

The Tsarist agent in Bukhara was exerting stronger and stronger pressure on the Emir and enforcing Tsarist policy. At the beginning of the 20th century there were about 8,000 Tsarist soldiers in the territory of Bukhara who dominated the borderland and the strategically important points in the Emirate. The Emir lost the right to mint coins without the permission of the Russian State Bank. The economy of the country, especially the cotton and the astrakhan trade fell into the hands of banks. The foreign trade with Russia also increased considerably, in 1865, the export from Bukhara to Russia was 3,306,000 golden roubles and the import 1,913,000, but in 1900-1914 it was estimated at 23,700,000 and 23,200,000 golden roubles, respectively.

At the beginning of the 20th century, progressive ideas from Russia started to penetrate into the Emirate to a higher degree, especially through literature and press; according to Ayni, it was after 1905 that the Tatar and the Azerbaijan press played a significant role in the education of an intelligentsia in Bukhara and Turkestan (80, p.64). At that time, the so-called Jadid Movement (*jadid* = new) reached Central Asia (where it was called also the Young Bukharans Movement) and its growth was helped greatly by the Revolution of 1905. Ayni said that "the movement for progress, hitherto influencing but a narrow circle of persons was now very widespread (80, p. 64). It was mostly the intelligentsia from the lower social strata who

professed the ideas of the Jadids, whose main aim was to reach a higher level in education, to create their own national *bourgeoisie* able to compete with the Russians and other foreign entrepreneurs, and to concentrate commerce and industry of Central Asia in their own hands. The members of the movement founded the so-called New Method Schools in which Western pedagogical experience was used and natural and technical sciences more respected. Reforms of Islam were called for, which was met with opposition by reactionary priests. The movement was, however, linked also with Pan-Islamism, the reactionary religio-political ideology enforcing the unification of all nations professing Islam. The latter movement arose in Turkey and was propagated especially by Turkish agents in Islamic countries. It was the Turkish sultan who was to play the leading role in such an Islamic world. The Jadid movement in Central Asia was also encumbered by Pan-Turkism, an ideology maintaining that all parts of the population of Central Asia constituted a single Turkish nation, by which the existence of not only the Tajik, but also the Uzbek, the Turkmen, the Kirghiz nation, etc.¹² was denied, the latter even having imposed on them the Istanbul Turkish language, which was entirely foreign to them. On the other hand, however, in case of need, the Jadids relied on the Tsarist government, especially in the territory of the Bukhara Emirate.

Jadidism was a movement full of contradictions, with many progressive as well as backward features. In his novel *Dokhunda*, Ayni puts into the mouth of his hero Abdullokhoja the following words on the Jadids: "The Jadids?... They have achieved nothing and will

¹² Fayzullo Khojaev wrote on this subject, in 1924: "They believe that there are no differences between the Kazakhs, the Uzbeks, the Turkmen and others. They maintain that there are differences only between the Turkish nations and the Tajiks. Is it correct? We are sure it is not ... The differences in the geographic and climatic conditions the Turkish nations have been living in for centuries are reflected in each of them and have given rise to different forms of work, farming etc. The idea of the Pan-Turkists will remain an unreal fancy". (F.Khojaev, "Izbr.soch.", Vol.1, Tashkent 1970, pp.360-361). Also 5, p.385.

also achieve nothing in the future. They have not even tried, as a matter of fact; one says that 'the calf runs to the haystack'. The climax of their aims was a reform of schools, a reform of *madrasas* and a reform of the Emir's government. It is obvious that a reform of anything does not mean its liquidation but its invigoration. It is true that even for their trifling demands, the Jadids were strongly oppressed by the Emir, many of them were murdered and they were therefore hostilely opposed to the Emir and some dignitaries of his court. This does not imply, however, that they were opposed to the Emirate" (84, Vol.2, p.216). After the Revolution, some of the Jadids became outstanding agents in the political and cultural Soviet construction. Thus also Ayni was a Jadid, at first, but he never professed Pan-Turkism, though knowing the Uzbek language as thoroughly as Tajik. On the contrary, he stressed the antiquity of Tajik culture and the right of the Tajiks to self-determination. Soon he became aware that it was the Emir's régime which represented the main obstacle to progress. His origin had also determined the side he stood on when the Soviet government was being formed in Central Asia. On the other hand, however, there were also such Jadids, the Young Bukharans, who first entered the service of the Emir, then defended his interests in the Basmachi bands and finally many of them emigrated.

An important landmark in the history of Central Asia which marked its further development was the people's uprising in Turkestan, in 1916, in which about eight million people took part (10, p. 34). Unfavourable consequences of the Great War for the economy were felt also in Central Asia. The import of goods was strongly restricted but the export of raw materials and food increased considerably, which resulted in the deterioration of the situation of the masses¹³. Besides, the Tsarist government announced the conscription of local men for works in the rear at the front and in war industry, in July 1916. It affected mostly sons of poor farmers and

¹³ Cf. Z.D.Kastel'skaya, *Osnovnye predposylki vosstaniya 1916 goda v Uzbekistane*, Moscow 1972.

craftsmen because those of rich fathers were allowed to be bought off. Unrest arose first in Khojand (today's Leninobod)¹⁴ which was ordered to supply nine thousand workers. A demonstration took place, the participants were shot at, and there followed hundreds of verdicts at martial courts. Almost simultaneously riots took place in other regions, even in Bukhara where the farmers forced to take part in constructing the railroad from Bukhara to Tirmiz defended themselves. The conscription for rear-works was realized at last. After the suppression of the revolt the rich Bukhara businessmen sent a collective expression of loyalty to the Russian Political Agent in Kogon, whereas ordinary people helped refugees from Turkestan and accorded them retreat in remote areas (80, p.75 ff). The coarse method of conscription, the departure of men from poor families and the hard conditions in which the workers driven to build fortifications and roads and to work in factories had to live - all this was another expression of Tsarist despotism which strengthened the growth of discontent.

After the February Revolution of 1917 the situation in Russian Turkestan developed similarly to that in Russia. Though Central Asia was cut off from the centre, in 1917-1919, it retained its Soviet government and in December 1918, with the approval of the centre, the Autonomous Turkestan Soviet Socialist Republic was established. The working people supported the Soviets but the reactionaries formed hostile associations such as the bourgeois *Shuroyi islomiya* (Islamic Council) or the feudal-clerical *Ulamo* (Theologians) with Pan-Turk and Pan-Islamic orientation and aimed against the Russians and the progress. In the territory of Bukhara, the provisional government changed the Russian Political Agency into the Russian Residency. The Emir's government used all means to hinder the Bukhara subjects from taking part in the demonstrations and meetings organized by Russian citizens in the territory of Bukhara and especially in Kogon. The leading Jadid reformists sent a petition to the Provisional Government demanding it to order the Emir to introduce

¹⁴ These events are remembered by Academician Zarif Rajabov (26, p.19ff).

reforms. The resident Miller obtained a wire recommending that modifications be made in the administration. He gave this advice to the Emir Sayyid Olimkhon (1910-1920) who, in order to consolidate his position, proclaimed reforms, on the 7th of April 1917, "to the extent that will be found necessary". In spite of its vagueness, the proclamation was warmly greeted by the Jadids who considered it to be a victory of their policy. They organized a demonstration of thanks, with flags and slogans like "Long live the Emir Olimkhon, advocate of freedom!". The *kushbegi* (holding approximately the office of the Prime Minister) read the proclamation of reforms containing a few vague promises "in accord with the holy *shariat*", e.g. that no "*bakshish*" would be accepted at the court, that a printing house would be established, etc. At the same time, the Emir organized a demonstration of the worst reaction "to safeguard Islam". The reforms were not carried out, on the contrary, many progressive personalities were arrested and there were mass executions; at that time also Sadriddin Ayni was tortured almost to death.

The Emir and the ruling circles of Bukhara naturally opposed the October Revolution, under the slogan of "the fight against the infidels", and supported all elements with similar aims. The Emir joined forces with the White Guards and with the autonomists in Turkestan who had been defeated after the insurrection in Kokand at the beginning of 1918¹⁵. He allied himself with the Turkmen counter-revolutionary forces headed by Junaydkhan and with Afghan volunteers commanded by English and Afghan officers, and was also in connection with the British¹⁶. He increased his army to thirty thousand men and proclaimed mobilization three times between November 1918 and March 1919. In March 1919 a troop of the

¹⁵ A member of the Red Guard, the Czech Artur Homola, writes in his Reminiscences on his participation in the suppression of the revolt. The manuscript, Archív UML, Praha, fund 31, No.62, file 2.

¹⁶ Václav Reřicha, a member of the Red Army, recalls how his troop was attacked, in the station of Dushak in 1919, by the British who set a few wagons on fire. Reřicha was wounded during this encounter. Archív UML, Praha, fund 31, No.62.

Turkestan A.S.S.R., under the command of Kolesov, encountered the Emir. F.I. Kolesov believed the Jadids' claim that the Bukhara people would follow them and that they would be able to take over the power. From Kogon, he appealed to the Emir to proclaim freedom of speech, of the press and the right to public gatherings, to abolish capital punishment and chastisement and to create an executive committee consisting of representatives of the Young Bukharans and entitled to control the activities of the government. The Emir refused at first, but when Kolesov started to march against the city of Bukhara with 2,000 soldiers he agreed to proclaim the liberties. At the same time, however, he ordered the priests and the worst reactionaries dominated by them to declare "holy war" on the infidels. The railway from Samarkand was interrupted, hundreds of Russian citizens were killed and Kolesov was forced to retreat towards Samarkand. There were reprisals among the Jadids, too, some of whom were executed, including Ayni's younger brother Sirojiddin, and others fled to Turkestan. The Soviet government in Turkestan marched out to help Kolesov and made the Emir sign the so-called Kizilteppa Agreement according to which he had to disarm the local inhabitants, to extradite officers of the White Guards, to demobilize his army and to recompense the railways for the suffered damages. At that moment, time was not yet ripe for a revolution in Bukhara and Kolesov's action was premature. In autumn 1918, the Communist Party of Bukhara was founded and illegal organizations arose in several places in the Bukhara territory, such as in Kogon, Shahrissabz, etc. With personnel and financial help from the Communist Party of Turkestan, there were as many as 37 illegal organizations in the territory of the Emirate towards the end of 1919; they took part in various campaigns aimed against the Emir's régime and controlled also the progressive paper *Qutulush* distributed secretly in the Bukhara territory¹⁷. The revolutionary crisis was becoming ripe. On the 16th-18th August 1920, the Communist Party of Bukhara or-

¹⁷ A. Benningsen et Ch. Quelquejay, *La presse et le mouvement national chez les musulmans de Russie avant 1920*, Paris - le Haye 1964, p. 274.

ganized the 4th Congress in Chorjuy (Chardzhou in Russian) which declared the situation to be ripe for an armed uprising hand in hand with the leftist Young Bukharans. In the night of the 29th August, the local *bek* was deposed in Chorjuy and there followed revolts in Shahrisabz and many other places. With the direct support of the Turkestan army the insurgents captured the city of Bukhara, on the 2nd September 1920, the Emir fleeing first to the Eastern part of the country and finally to Afghanistan, along with his body of retainers and his treasury¹⁸. On the 6th of September, the First All-Bukhara Congress of People's Representatives assembled in Bukhara and proclaimed the creation of the Bukhara People's Socialist Republic in which all power was to belong to the workers and the farmers. The Republic immediately entered into friendly contracts with the Russian Federation, signing a few friendly agreements regulating their mutual relations. In the further development several measures were gradually taken, promoting economic and cultural advancement, the improvement of the living conditions of broad masses as well as the participation of the working people in the government. With the Russian assistance, mining industry was developed in Central Asia, the level of agriculture was raised, the position of women bettered and first steps to remove onerous illiteracy made. It was a difficult process, due to backwardness and the hundred-years-old subjugation of the common people to the *beks* and the *mullabs*. V.V. Kuibyshev, when recollecting these beginnings, in a speech in Dushanbe, 1934, said: "... I had the task then to fight abreast with you to overthrow the Bukhara Emir, to fight for the Revolution, for the victory in the struggle against capitalism ... The revolutionaries - the communists, the Tajiks, the Uzbeks - were few. With immense effort, they were

¹⁸ The Czech František Micka, a former Austrian prisoner of war and a member of the Red Guard, after the Revolution took part in the pursuit of the Emir with the troop which was given this task (Archív UML, Praha, fund 31, No.62). Dozens of Czechs and Slovaks took part in the Revolution in Central Asia. "It is well known that there was a squad of the Red Army commanded by Comrade Mareček, in the Pamir area". (Jaroslav Křížek, *Čeští a slovenští rudoarmějci v Sovětském Rusku 1917-1920*, Praha 1955, p.21).

taking superhuman tasks upon themselves; these heroes had to struggle in the conditions which Bukhara was in after the recent overthrow of the Emir ... " ¹⁹.

The difficulties were multiplied by the activities of counter-revolutionary bands of the so-called Basmachi, who, headed by Ibrohimbek were active especially in the Eastern parts of the country, where they were terrorizing the inhabitants. For a transitory period, under the leadership of the ambitious Enverpasha (36, p.110), the former Minister of War in Turkey, they even captured the city of Dushanbe (20, p.93ff). These fights culminated in 1921-1922 but went on till 1926 and meant an immense obstacle to economic and cultural advancement ²⁰. When the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was created, in 1922, the Bukhara People's Socialist Republic did not become a part of it because it had not yet reached the socialist level. Another obstacle to full economic and cultural advancement in Central Asia was its ethnic disparity, which hindered direct contacts between the government and the people, the spreading of school education etc. At that time, there were three state formations in Central Asia: the Turkestan A.S.S.R., the Bukhara People's Socialist Republic and the Khwarazm (Khivan) People's Socialist Republic, in each of which almost all the basic nations were living in different numbers - the Tajiks, the Uzbeks, the Kirghizes, the Turkmen and the Karakalpaks (19, p.200ff). The Uzbek Fayzullo Khojayev propagated the idea of the territorial demarcation of Central Asia on the basis of nationality (5, p.385), the first step being the liquidation of the previously existing formations, in 1924, and the creation of the

¹⁹ "Kommunist Tadzshikistana", 5.12.1934.

²⁰ In spring 1919, the Czech E. Kužel was appointed commander of a regiment of cavalry ordered to fight against the Basmachi (I.S.Sologubov, *Inostrannye kommunisty v Turkestane / 1918-1921 gg.* /, Tashkent 1961, p.105ff). The arrest of Ibrohimbek and his band was described, in 1931, by E.E.Kisch in his book, *Asien gründlich verändert*, Berlin 1932, pp.123-144. Julius Fučík dealt with the Basmachi in several of his reportages, especially the one entitled "O vodce, revoluci a basmačích" (*V zemi milované*, Praha 1954, pp. 436-452).

Uzbek S.S.R., the Turkmen S.S.R., the Kirghiz S.S.R. and also the Autonomous Tajik Republic, within the frame of Uzbekistan. The further development and the stabilization of this autonomous republic, its economic advancement (e.g. in 1927/28, the agricultural equipment imported to Tajikistan was worth 726 thousand roubles and in the next year as much as 1,159 thousand), the beginning of collectivization (on the 1st October 1929, there were 205 kolkhozes in Tajikistan consisting of 2,888 farmsteads), the construction of the railroad from Tirmiz to Dushanbe which connected the capital of the Republic with the other world - all this was the reason why the 3rd Congress of the Soviets of Tajikistan decreed the creation of the Tajik Socialist Republic of the Union, on the 16th October 1929.

Hand in hand with political advancement, first success was also achieved in the field of culture. The so-called *likbez*s were organized i.e. schools for the eradication of illiteracy among the adults; there were 568 schools of this kind with 17 thousand pupils in Tajikistan and Khojand, in 1928/29, and basic schools were attended by 11,8% children of school age. Three Tajik teachers' colleges were also established. The first was founded in Tashkent as early as 1925 and among its graduates there were many outstanding personalities of later culture and science, such as F.Abdullozoda, M.Irkoyev, B.Niyozmuhammadov, S.Ulughzoda, M.Tursunzoda etc. (26, p.110). This does not mean, however, that conditions were idyllic. "Many uneducated parents influenced by the *beys* and the *mullahs* did not allow their children to attend Soviet schools, and teachers had to fight for every pupil. Schools were located in unsuitable buildings and did not possess even the most essential equipment such as blackboards and desks ... Religious-minded people avoided Soviet teachers in *chaikhonas* and bazaars. A teacher had always been an honoured guest among the Tajiks but a Soviet teacher was never invited anywhere" (26, p.33 ff).

In 1927 an attack on the *paranja* separating women from the rest of the world and symbolizing their inferior position was launched. On the 8th March 1927, thirteen thousand women renounced the veil and started to attend courses for the illiterate (105, pp.90 and 92). The new Roman script was adopted and a few

Tajik magazines began to appear. In 1929 the first professional theatre was opened in Dushanbe. During the twenties, Tajik culture was developing in a constant fight against Pan-Turkism; a prominent role was played by S.Ayni's *Namunayi adabiyoti tojik* (44) which proved how incorrect the assertion was that "there was no Tajik nation", by publishing literary illustrations of the thousand-years-old development of Tajik culture. Z.Rajabov recollects that in 1924, a number of articles were published in Tashkent and Samarkand asserting that there were no Tajiks but that the inhabitants of Bukhara, Samarkand, Khojand and other places lost their original Turkish language, due to the oppression by the Iranians, and were forced to talk in Tajik. Another version was that Central Asian Tajiks had lost their language very long ago and spoke now only Uzbek, under the influence of the Turkish (i.e. Uzbek) population (26, p.62). The most outstanding personalities, however, usually stressed the affinity between the two nations, the Tajiks and the Uzbeks, and the mutual interconnection of their cultures. They showed, e.g., how the Tajiks Donish, Shohin and other knew the Uzbek language as well as Uzbek classical poetry, that there was almost no difference between the classical music of the two nations, and that almost every Tajik writer and poet up to that time knew Uzbek (26, p.129).

At that time Ayni published his first Tajik Soviet novelette and shortly afterwards also his first novel. Besides Ayni, also members of the middle generation created Soviet literature and culture—Munzim, Abdurrauf Fitrat, Hamdi, Payrav Sulaymoni—and new reinforcements appeared in such personalities as Rahimi, Aminzoda, Suhayli Javharizoda etc. Also the Iranian emigrant and the outstanding poet Abulqosim Lohuti (Abolqāsem Lāhuti), one of S.Ayni's friends, took a prominent part in creating Soviet Tajik poetry. The twenties were spent in fighting not only against the opponents from the camp of the conservatives, the followers of the fugitive Emir and the nationalists of the Jadid character, but also, especially in culture, against the leftists, the propagators of the theory of proletcult, who conceived the literary revolution as the negation of all classical and pre-Revolutionary literature. For instance, Baktosh wrote in 1928 that the Tajiks "have been left only a few divans, miscellanies and anthologies from

classical literature". Alizoda alleged, in an article from 1930, that there had been only feudal and bourgeois literature previously which had served only these classes and was of no avail to the Tajik proletariat and the people, but on the contrary tainted the proletarian way of thinking²¹.

The subsequent development was generally smooth and common to the whole family of Soviet nations. Their economy and culture were advancing in five-years plans, modern industry was built up and then strengthened in Tajikistan,²² the level of agricultural production rose, especially in cotton growing²³. In the thirties, the Union of Tajik Writers was founded; Sadriddin Ayni was its first President till his death. Outstanding authors were joined by Hakim Karim, Yusufi, A. Dehoti, Mirzo Tursunzoda, B. Rahimzoda, M. Mirshakar, the prose writers Rahim Jalil, Jalol Ikromi, Sotim Ulughzoda, Foteh Niyozzi etc. By 1940 literacy rose to 70% in Central Asia and all children attended schools where, with negligible exceptions, they were taught in their mother-tongue.

The Second War opened a new period. The Tajiks, the Uzbeks and other took part in it and it was a hard school for all of them. Researchers as well as whole scientific institutes and industrial enterprises were evacuated from Western parts of the Soviet Union to Central Asia. This region has thus become a developed area; Tajikistan is now one of the countries which have surpassed the neighbouring states in its cultural advancement, and may serve as an example to all liberated countries of Asia and Africa.

²¹ According to A. Sayfulloev, *Inqilobi nav*, "Sadoi Sharq", 1968, No.4, pp. 107-108.

²² Taking the industrial output in 1913 as 1, it equalled 0.2 in 1924, but rose to 8.8 in 1940 and to 95 in 1971. The production of electricity was 0.1 million KW in 1921, 62.1 in 1940, 3,238 in 1970 and 3,367 in 1971. In 1940, 455,000 pairs of leather shoes were produced, but 6,155,000 in 1971, etc.

²³ 32,000 tons of cotton were gathered in 1913, the figures for other years being (in thousand of tons): 1924 - 8.4; 1929 - 47; 1940 - 172; 1971 - 788.

The life of Sadriddin Ayni

To follow the life of Ayni is comparatively easy. A considerable part of his writings is of an autobiographical character, there are many reminiscences of his friends and pupils and lastly, in 1940 Ayni published his Autobiography (80), which contains a fairly detailed description of his way of life till 1922; the following years till 1940 and then to 1946 are dealt with in a concise way. This Autobiography will be used here as a basis for the description of the life story of this outstanding Tajik.

He was born on the 15th April 1878 in the *qisbloq* (village) Khoja Sektare in the former Ghijduvon District of present-day Uzbekistan. The village is situated on the little river of Mazmangon, one of the tributaries of the Zarafshon, about 40 km from the city of Bukhara. The locality had allegedly existed already before the Arabian occupation. At the time of Ayni's childhood, it consisted of about 300 houses. The writer described his native village especially in the long story *Ahmadi devband* (Ahmad the Magician, 59). Ayni's father Murod (Sayyidmurodkhoja) was a petty farmer owning two *tanobs* (approximately half a hectare) of land and growing mostly cotton and *jugara* (a sort of maize). This did not suffice to sustain the family, however - his wife and four sons. Helped by his wife, he therefore engaged also in weaving, mostly for family needs, as well as in cutting millstones for sale. In his youth, father spent a few years at the *madrasas* of Bukhara and could read and write, which was quite unusual in the countryside. Such knowledge was usually possessed only by *mullabs*, custodians of mosques and teachers, and even by these only to a very limited degree. Ayni's father loved poetry, he himself had written a few lines and he wished Sadriddin to become a poet. He sent his first-born son Muhiddin to a school in Bukhara around 1886. Young Ayni first attended the village *maktab*, the school attached to the mosque and learned here partly to read those books which were read at school; he also knew some

poems by Sa'di, Hafez, Bedil, Sa'eb, Navoi and Fozuli by heart. He described this period especially in his novel *Maktabi kubna* (Old School, 57). Later on he learned also to write, in order to be able to put down nice verse heard anywhere.

Approximately in June 1889, a disastrous epidemic of cholera befell the area and many people died. The whole village fell ill, including all the members of Ayni's family except Sadriddin. There was no doctor in the village and after a short illness both parents died, though the brothers recovered. Sadriddin had to take care of the household, to reap and to grind *jugara*, to cook for his sick brothers and to do their washing. When he cleared the debts which arose in connection with his parents' funeral, he was left with only the house and the fields, but the following year was compelled to sell them too, in order to organize a commemorial feast on the anniversary of his parents' death and the circumcision of his younger brothers. Such was the inviolable custom. It became apparent that Ayni was very gifted in learning. Two younger brothers were taken care of by their grandmother and Sadriddin followed his elder brother to Bukhara.

He arrived at this cultural and administrative centre of the Bukhara Emirate in 1890. During the first two years, he served a few richer students. He got to know the enlightened scholar and writer Ahmad Donish; but he was too young to come into contact with him. In 1891 the youngest brother Kiromiddin died and Sadriddin took the other younger brother Sirojiddin to Bukhara. For some time, Sadriddin served in the house of Sadri Ziyoy, a judge and an enlightened literate whose proper name was Sharifjon Makhdum, and got to know the best poets and scholars of Bukhara here. Then he was employed as a servant at the *madrassa* Olimjon for two years. During that time he also took part in the lessons diligently and soon he was helping his classmates and writing his first poems. He read the *divans* (anthologies) of the poets Jami, Sa'eb and Navoi and perfected his Uzbek by reading Uzbek verse. He made the acquaintance of and then friends with the young and gifted poet Muhammed Siddiq Hayrat who became his teacher of poetry. In 1899 one of his best pre-Revolutionary poems was written, *Dostoni*

sayri Shirbadan (Poem on the Pilgrimage to Shirbadan, 81, pp.125-130) in which also the Russian dancer Nina was mentioned. The majority of his poems from this initial period were traditionally lyric but in some of them, he already mentioned certain negative aspects of the social organization. Pessimistic tones were heard, e.g., in the poem on his own poverty:

There is no cell for me in the *madrasa*,
Not a crust of bread, not a drop of wine.
Always I must repeat that I have neither this nor that
And thus there is literally nothing for me in this world ...

He concluded his poem (*qasida*) *Dabyak* (A Tenth) from 1903 with the lines: "The usurer will serve you, he will give you a credit / and then will take away your house and everything, one after another" (81, p.120). Of similar character are his poems *Mozi va hol* (Then and Now, from 1913), *Zaminro boyad nafurushed* (Don't Sell Your Land, from 1909) or *Qissai parvona va kirmak* (Fable on the Butterfly and the Worm, from 1917).

Since 1898, Ayni was living in a *bujra* (cell) of the *madrasa* Qukaltosh; it belonged to his well-off patron who was supporting him during his studies; at that time, Ayni was already known as a young poet and an able student. His cell had no more than four square metres, no windows and the low door did not allow even a man of medium height to enter upright (105, p.115).

An important landmark in the life of Ayni was his acquaintance with the writings of Ahmad Donish whom he later characterized as "the brightest star on the dark sky of Bukhara". He learned to know especially Donish's comprehensive treatise, *Navodir-ul-vaqoye'* (Remarkable Events, around 1880) comprising a criticism of the order as well as of the education at the *madrasas*, the method of teaching etc. In a similar way, Ayni was influenced by the poems of Mirza 'Ali Akbar Sabir, the Azerbaijan satirist, and progressive papers and magazines written in Persian, such as the *Habl-ul-matin* from India, the *Chebrenāme* from Egypt and the Tatar-Russian newspaper *Tarjuman* or *Mulla Nasreddin* circulated secretly among

the progressives¹. In his Autobiography, Ayni recollects how naïve the ideas of the Bukhara readers of this paper were. For example, they did not understand the word "Parliament" and one of the "experts" explained its meaning in the following way:

"In the middle of the earth, there is a city called Paris and in the middle of the city of Paris, there is a building called the Parliament. In the Parliament, sit men of knowledge and learning who give the correct and proper answer to any question..."

At that time, as Ayni writes, Bukhara Emir Abdulahad (1885-1910) was not living in the city but dwelt mostly in Karmina. People used to say that the Russian Government prevented the Emir from coming to the capital.

"Our teacher of the Tatar language took this very circumstance as an example and explained:

'If, for instance, a Bukhara water-carrier goes to the telegraph office and asks the Parliament by wire «Why does the Bukhara Emir not come to the royal seat» the Parliament will give him the correct answer'.

'The telegraph is, however, in the hands of the Russian Government - how can a Bukhara water-carrier send a telegram to the Parliament of receive a reply from it?' I objected thus venting my mistrust. The 'teacher' declared:

'The Parliament is so powerful that it is enough to mention its name and all governments of the world do not say a single word and tremble with fear' " (80, p.57).

As for literature, as stated by Ayni himself, he was impressed by the sharply critical novel *Seyāhatnāme ye Ebrāhim bek* (Ibrahim's Travels) by the Iranian democrat Zeynol'ābedin Marāghe'i who lived outside Iran and ridiculed Iranian backwardness which was, of course, far surpassed by that of Bukhara.

In 1902, Ayni's close friend and teacher of poetry, the poet Hayrat, died of tuberculosis. Ayni wrote that he was "weeping over his grave more than over the grave of the parents". When the first

¹ Rahim Hoshim, *Safar dar she'ru bunar*. Sadoi Sharq, 1966, No.3, p.59.

reformed school for the children of the Tatars was opened in Bukhara, in 1907, it was attended also by the sons of some Bukhara Tajiks and Ayni translated for them from Tatar. This gave him an opportunity to get acquainted intimately with more advanced pedagogical methods and he founded, together with a friend of his, a similar Tajik school at which well-off parents paid only three roubles for their children whereas poor fathers had to pay nothing. This was also the beginning of Ayni's participation in the Jadid (Young Bukharans) Movement which he followed till 1914/15². With his associate, Ayni compiled the first spelling-book, and wrote the first reader, in 1909/10 - the *Tabzib-us-sib'ën* (Education of Children, 37) which for the first time comprised non-religious subjects more attractive to children. On the other hand, his connection with the past, and his family and school education (his father was a pious Muslim and his elder brother a *mullah*) induced Ayni to write also religious treatises, such as the *Zaruriyati diniya* (The Necessity of Religion, 38) or the *Tartil-ul-qur'on* (The Rules of Reading the Koran, 39). Besides, in this period, he wrote traditional verse, love *ghazals* and the so-called *mukhammases*, replies to the *ghazals* of favourite classical poets like Hāfez, Binoi, Sā'eb and others (81, pp.99-113).

But the high clergy soon succeeded in making the Emir banish new-type schools with the justification that they were bringing up *kofirs*, i.e. heathens, apostates. The teachers were compelled to hide for some time because the *mullahs* were inciting the fanatic elements. In spite of this, they did not give up and founded, within the framework of the Jadid Movement, the secret association *Tarbiyai atfol* (Education of Children) for reforming the *maktabs* and the *madrassas*. The association organized five or six secret basic schools (later on also a high school) and sent older boys to study in Orenburg, Kazan, Ufa, in the Crimea and in Istanbul. With the permission of the Emir and the Russian Agent, the Jadids also edited the first Bukhara paper, *Bukhoroi sharif* (Blissful Bukhara) and the

² S.Tabarov, *Sadriddin Ayni - asosguzori adabiyoti sovetii tojik*, Dushanbe 1954, p 10.

Uzbek paper *Turān*, in 1912-1913; Ayni wrote articles and poems for both of them.

In 1914 the *kushbegi* (Prime Minister) ordered all teachers of secret schools to be brought into the *ark*, the Government House, and made them sign that they would give up teaching. Otherwise they were threatened with expulsion from Bukhara. During the War, the pressure became even stronger because the Tsarist secret police spied on free-thinking citizens, with the Emir's consent, and organized a net of provocateurs in Bukhara. At that time Ayni was in touch with the enlightened poet and craftsman, Toshkhoja Asiri (1864-1915) whom he had met for the first time in Khojand (today's Leninobod) in 1914 and whose verse he later included in his anthology of Tajik poetry (44, pp.557-559)³. In August 1915 the *kushbegi* summoned the representatives of the Bukhara intelligentsia who were reported to be talking about the defeat of the Russian army and made them sign a promise not to read the papers coming from Russia. Though Ayni won a temporary victory in this discussion, he left Bukhara for a time, in order to be on the safe side, and worked in a cotton-cleaning plant in Kizilteppa, in the territory of Russian Turkestan. He came into touch with simple working people as well as with the machinations of the employers and their whips. He used the experience gained during his stay here in his first novelette *Odina* written in 1926 (48). The persecution and arrests in Bukhara were intensified in 1916, after the Turkestan uprising against the Tsarist government during the mobilization of local inhabitants for works at the rear of the army (cf. p. 19). At the beginning of 1916, Ayni was informed that the Emir had appointed him a *mudarris*, professor at the *madrasa* Khiyobon, one of the largest *madrasas* of Bukhara. It was obviously a stratagem to oblige Ayni, who was comparatively well-known at that time, with a profitable stipend. Ayni accepted the post formally but did not take up office, to the satisfaction of the other professors

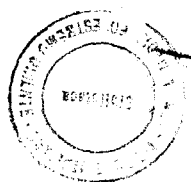
³ J.Khojaev, *Toshkhoja Asiri va ejodiyoti u*, "Sharqi surkh", 1957, No.1, p.97. According to Z.Rajabov (*Poet - prosvetitel' tadzhikskogo naroda Asiri*, Dushanbe 1974, p.23) the two poets were in contact by letters.

who divided his salary between themselves (80, p.76 ff).

After the February Revolution of 1917, differences arose within the secret association and it was temporarily dissolved. The majority of its members joined the Jadid movement headed by Abdurrauf Fitrat. Ayni pointed out the danger represented by the provocateurs and the urgent necessity of keeping up an agitation among the farmers, who were strongly influenced by the priests at that time.

When reforms were proclaimed in Bukhara, under the pressure of the Provisional Government, on the 7th April 1917 (see p.21), Ayni warned against organizing a demonstration of thanks. His reason was that the reforms were worth nothing and he foresaw that the demonstration would arouse the reactionary forces organized by priests, which would sweep away even those meagre reforms. This was exactly what happened. The highest clergy incited riots against the "disturbers of the holy *shariat*" (6, p.246) and the Emir yielded to the pressure by annulling the reforms and arresting all those who were suspected of supporting them. By night Ayni too, was cruelly dragged off to an underground prison, *obkbona*, in the Emir's palace, and was punished by being whipped seventy-five strokes; along with Ayni, Mirzo Nasrullo and others were beaten, too⁴. It was lucky that on the same day, the Young Bukharans (92, p.53) invited a troop of soldiers from Samarkand and Karki to Bukhara who "on behalf of the Russian Revolution" set all prisoners at liberty. The persons who had been tortured were placed in the hospital of Kogon where Mirzo Nasrullo died, on the 12th April. On the same day he was photographed together with Ayni; the latter's picture was reproduced in the book *Namunai adabiyoti tojik* (44). Ayni spent 52 days in hospital and underwent 25 operations. Then he left for Samarkand which was beyond the border of the Bukhara Emirate and where he felt safer. He fell ill again, however, and for two more months was confined to bed in the house of Ismatullo Rahmatullozoda. Besides, the reactionary *Shuroyi islom* (Islamic Council) sentenced

⁴ The prominent literary critic and cultural worker Taraqul Zehni was a witness to the torture. He wrote about it in his article, *Iz vospominanij ob ustode*, "Kommunist Tadjikistana", 13th Oct. 1968, p.3 (translation into Russian).



Ayni to death (105, p.51) and after the local *mullabs* had learned that he was in the city, they issued a proclamation stating that "according to the *shariat*, a man who has drawn the sword against a Muslim ruler is not allowed to stay in an Islamic city". Thus Ayni was in danger again which passed only after the Revolution, when the priests had lost their power. During his sojourn in Samarkand, his younger brother Sirojiddin was beaten to death, in a campaign against the enemies of the absolutist régime in Bukhara. Sadriddin Ayni commemorated his death in a *marsiya*, an elegy expressing not only his sorrow over the death of the brother but especially his hatred of the cruel régime of the Emir which had caused it. It was the very first revolutionary writing by Ayni (see p.72-73).

Ayni was now in danger in Samarkand, too, where the Emir's power was felt strongly, though indirectly. Therefore he left for Tashkent, on the 22nd April 1918, and spent half a year there recovering from his injuries. In the meantime, the Soviet power in Samarkand became consolidated and Ayni was able to return there; the Samarkand Soviet warned the *mullabs* and made them personally responsible for Ayni's security (80, p.99). Here Ayni taught the Tajik and the Uzbek languages at one of the new schools. One of his pupils, later an outstanding man of letters, Rahim Hoshim, recalls this period. He writes that, though ill, Ayni never missed school or came late, which was often the case with the other teacher⁵. At the beginning of 1919, Ayni suffered a nervous break-down, due to over-exertion, and for this reason changed his teacher's post for that of a journalist; he worked for the Tajik magazine *Shu'layi inqilob* (Flame of Revolution) and the Uzbek *Mehnatkashlar tovushi* (Voice of the Working People) writing many articles and verses for them, which he signed by various ciphers and names. In the *Shu'layi inqilob*, Ayni's first more extensive piece of prose appeared in continuations, an historico-political pamphlet revealing the true face of not only the last Emir Olimkhon and his henchmen but also the whole Manghit Dynasty (42) which had been ruling over Bukhara

5 Rahim Hoshim, *Dar korgobi ejodii ustod*, "Sadoi Sharq", 1971, No.4, p.105.

for almost 150 years with disastrous results. At that time, Ayni was also appointed by school offices to inspect three schools which were among the first Soviet school institutions in Central Asia. Simultaneously the situation in Bukhara was becoming ripe. Many refugees living in Samarkand and Tashkent demanded the final reckoning with the Emirate, a survival of the Middle Ages. S.Ayni was sent to Tashkent for a month to make plans, and prepare speeches and other materials to be used by the Communist Party in its propaganda among the Bukhara inhabitants. Then he returned to Samarkand and went on working for the magazines, of which a large number of copies were sent by various ways into Bukhara territory to prepare the ground for the revolt.

In December 1920 Sadriddin Ayni got married in Samarkand which was situated in the territory of the Turkestan A.S.S.R., later the Uzbek S.S.R., and remained there for the rest of his life. At first he did not take part directly in the activities of the Bukhara Republican government because he did not trust of its members. His mistrust was proved true, among other things, by the murder of his elder brother Muhiddin in 1922 by a band headed by Mullo Qahhor who was supported by some members of the Bukhara government, as was shown later on. The Basmachi band broke into the village where Muhiddin was an ecclesiastical dignitary, tied him to a tree, shot him dead and dragged his son away (92, p.54).

Life was very difficult then, writes Ayni ... He lived with his wife's parents in a small two-roomed house with a leaking roof. Food was very expensive and the money which he was obtaining from the publishers was not sufficient. Besides writing he had to grow potatoes and vegetables in the garden, in 1921-1922, which was a great help (80, p.108). Though he did not much trust the Bukhara régime, he manifested his relation to the Bukhara People's Republic by becoming, at his own request, a consultant of the Bukhara Consulate in Samarkand; there was, however, almost no work connected with this at all. Mostly he wrote and edited. At that time many of his articles originated from defending the aims of the revolution and revealing the Emir's régime as well as the activities of the Basmachi. In 1920 he also started writing

the more extensive piece of prose entitled *Jallodoni Bukboro* (Hangmen of Bukhara, 40 and 60). Ayni himself explained his transition to prose in the following words: "After the October Revolution, I continued to be interested in poetry but for expressing all those great things brought about by the Revolution, the verse form had become too tight for me (or perhaps my talent had become weaker) and I went over to prose". After finishing the manuscript of the Bukhara Hangmen, he submitted it to a Bukhara publishing house where the book was not published, however, and the manuscript got lost. In 1922 the book appeared, in an abridged form, in the magazine *Inqilob* (Revolution). In 1920-1922 Ayni wrote the historical treatise *Materials to the History of the Bukhara Revolution* (45) but this was not published in Bukhara either and he had to wait till it appeared in print in Moscow, in 1926. In the same period, also his series of articles entitled *What the Soviet Government Has Given Us*, and about a hundred further articles were written (26, p.40). Ayni rewrote his treatise on the Emirs of the Manghit Dynasty which appeared in the magazine *Shu'lai inqilob*; but in book form, this writing was not published in Bukhara either but in Tashkent, in 1923 (42); the Bukhara publishing house, however, did at least pay Ayni the fee which enabled him to buy a house of his own for his family not far from Registon, the ancient centre of the city of Samarkand, in 1923. The fact that not a single writing of Ayni's was published in Bukhara and the repeated loss of his manuscripts showed the negative attitude of some leading personalities of the Bukhara People's Republic towards his ideas and justified his mistrust. In the course of time, however, realistic forces prevailed even here and at the 4th All-Bukhara Congress of the Soviets, in October 1923, Ayni was elected a Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic⁶.

From the beginning of 1923 for about a year, Ayni was working as the chief of a commercial office in Samarkand. At that time he wrote the first Tajik novelette, *Odina* (48), published in the Tajik

⁶ Ibid.

magazine *Ovozi tojik* (The Voice of the Tajik) in Samarkand and, later on, in an enlarged form, many times more in Tajik, Uzbek (in the author's own translation), Russian and other languages.

From 1924 Ayni gave himself up fully to literary activities. In spring 1925, he started writing the *Namunai adabiyoti tojik* (Image or Anthology of Tajik Literature, 44) in which he gave a picture of the thousand-year-long Tajik literature and made the first evaluation of a number of forgotten good authors, especially from the period between the 16th and the 19th centuries as well as his contemporaries. The book was of much significance at the time of the national demarcation of Central Asia - it resisted, in a convincing way, the pan-Turk nationalists who, sometimes under the cloak of revolutionary slogans, objected to the creation of a Tajik republic maintaining that the Tajiks were in fact Turks who had lost their language due to the influence of the Emir and the *madrassas*. In order to render the publication of the book impossible they did not even hesitate to declare it a celebration of the fugitive Emir because it contained also Rudaki's verse from the 10th century praising the then Samanide ruler. The book was banned by the Party Plenum of Uzbekistan but was published, after the intercession of Russian Orientalists, in Moscow in 1926. In the same year Ayni became an adviser to the Tajik Publishing House in Samarkand where all writings in and translations into Tajik till 1933 went through his hands. In 1927-1928 he wrote his first novel which was also the very first novel in Tajik, the *Dokhunda* (53 and 54), printed in 1930 in Kazan and then published several times both in Tajik and in translations. At that time Ayni was elected a Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Tajik S.S.R. and was awarded the Red Flag of Labour in 1931 (92, p.53). In Samarkand he took part in the activities of the literary association *Qizil qalam* (Red Pen, 105, p.164). Along with A. Lohuti, Ayni was elected one of the fifty members of the All-Union Organizational Committee of the Union of Writers, in August 1932, and participated in its first session

in Moscow, from the 29th October till the 3rd November 1932, as well as in the discussion there⁷.

Between 1932 and 1935 he was busy writing his second novel, the great epopee of the Tajik man, the *Ghulomon* (Slaves, 55 and 56) which appeared in 1934 in Uzbek, under the title *Qullar* (Slaves) and a year later in Tajik. In this year, Ayni participated in the First Congress of the Union of Soviet Writers in Moscow where he said: " ... Yes, comrades, I am an old man who has become a youth in our days. For forty years I have been working in the field of literature. I have seen the feudal Bukhara with my own eyes, I have lived the period of Jadidism and taken part in the literary creation of that time. In that period, however, I was not able to create anything of importance. Whatever is worth attention in my writings has been written after the October. This is why I am saying that I have become a youth, though an old man ... " ⁸.

In 1935 Tajikistan celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of Ayni's literary activity. This celebration is also a remarkable event in the history of Czechoslovak-Tajik relations. In that year, Julius Fučík was in the U.S.S.R. and he also visited Central Asia. He was invited to take part in Ayni's celebrations in Dushanbe (then Stalinobod). During the main session, Fučík was seated beside the honoured writer in Lohuti's Theatre and gave a speech in Ayni's honour. He first recited some verse by Ayni and went on to recall the inhuman chastisement Ayni was punished with in 1917 and to remind the imprisonment of the lot of progressive German writers under the rule of Hitler, in 1935: "When I was getting acquainted with Tajikistan I often repeated Ayni's verse. I am repeating it in order not to forget. Yes, this rich country walking in big strides towards a happy cultural life is the same country from which the voice of terrible suffering was heard in our Europe, twenty years ago. It is not a long time and yet it seems that centuries have passed since we in Europe heard about the barbarism in Central Asia. Now

⁷ "Literaturnaya gazeta", 29th Oct. and 11th Nov. 1932.

⁸ "Pravda", 30th Aug. 1934.

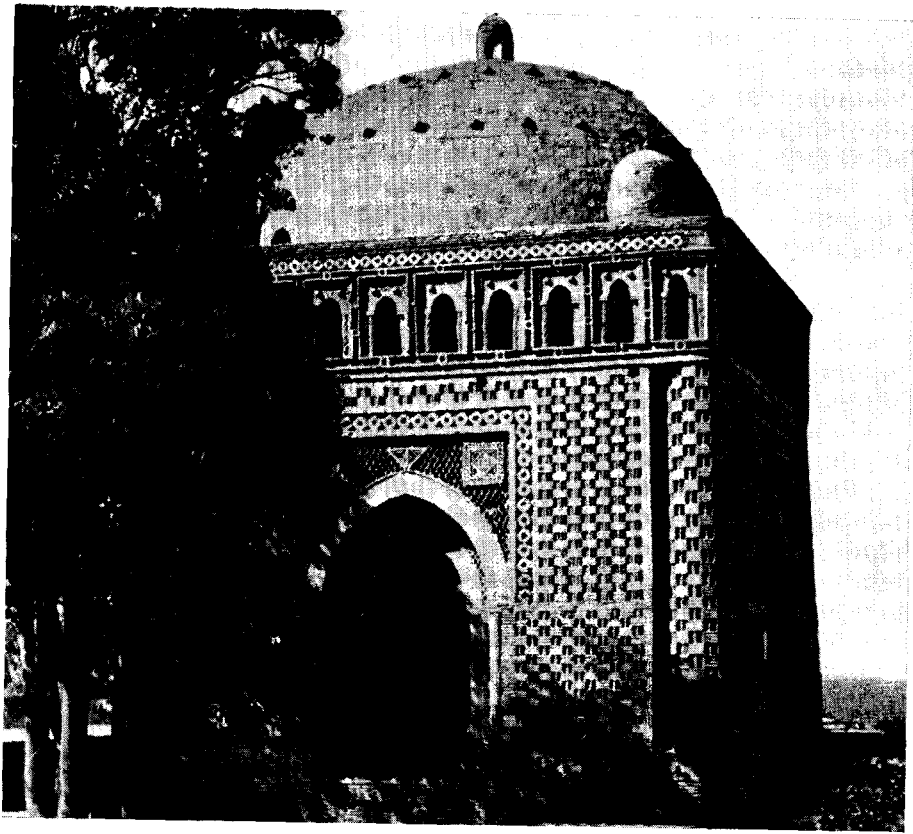


Fig. 2 - The mausoleum of Ismail Samani (9th-10th century) in Bukhara.



Fig. 3 - Sadri Ziyo (1865-1931), an enlightened man of letters from Bukhara and a sponsor of S. Ayni.



Fig. 4 - S. Ayni in the Kogon hospital where he was undergoing medical treatment after being punished with 75 strokes. Reprinted from *Namunayi adabiyoti tojik* (44).

Fig. 5 - A cartoon from the magazine "Molla Nasreddin", from 1909. It presents the Bukhara Emir whose good cheer has been disturbed by Gelejek (Future). Reprinted from the book by A. Bennigsen and Ch. Lemerrier-Quequejay, (7a).





Fig. 6 - A contemporary cartoon of Enver Pasha. The word "gazavat", i.e. *ghazāvat*, means "war for faith".

there is culture, growth, advancement here - and the voice of barbarism resounds from Central Europe. There were times when even the most talented writers of the Tajik nation were persecuted, imprisoned, tortured - and people in Central Europe were taking umbrage at such 'Asiatism'. Today we are taking part in a joyful celebration of our writer. Whereas there, in our Central Europe, gifted writers are being imprisoned in concentration camps, they are being tortured and their writings destroyed"⁹.

Sadriddin Ayni, an old man at that time, and young Julius Fučík obviously took to each other. Fučík cordially invited Ayni to visit Czechoslovakia and for this reason, Ayni was deeply grieved to hear that Fučík had been executed by the Nazis in 1944. He wanted to visit Fučík's grave after the War, as the writer Sotim Ulughzoda recalled¹⁰.

The acquaintance with Ayni apparently deeply influenced Fučík's subsequent writings, too - it is obvious from his many reportages from Tajikistan as well as the fact that in his last treatise on the Czech writer Julius Zeyer, Fučík recalled the Tajik potter¹¹ in the introductory chapter, and brought a translation of the following lines by the Persian-Tajik poet 'Omar Khayyām:

I drained the jug and threw it away.
The blood of wine intoxicated my head.
And the cracked jug said with reproach:
"I used to be what you are. You will be what I am now".

From 1933 when the Tajik government conferred a personal annuity on Ayni, he was free of all obligations and was able to engage himself fully in literary activities. Among his great achievements of that time is his hitherto not sufficiently appreciated Dictionary of the Tajik Language which was published only in 1976 as the 12th

⁹ "Kommunist Tadžikistana", 28th Nov. 1935. See also A. Mahmáminov, *Ayni va Fučík*, "Tojikistoni soveti", 23rd Nov. 1975, p.4 and J. Bečka, *Tojikiston va Julius Fučík*, "Sadoi Sharq", No.4, pp.63-65.

¹⁰ "Vechnyy Dushanbe", 17th Oct. 1968.

¹¹ Julius Fučík, *Tři studie*, Praha 1954, p.101 ff.

volume of his *Kulliyat* (Collected Works, 84). Foteh Niyozzi remembers "with wrath and regret" that in 1937-1938 a few followers of the deformation of that period ran down Ayni, some even declaring him to be an enemy of the people, with the result that his writings were sometimes removed from library catalogues (105, p.44). In 1941, however, he already took part in the so-called Decade of Tajik Arts in Moscow and during the subsequent war years he helped to raise the fighting spirit at the front and the authority of the government by his writings on the heroes of the Tajik nation's past, his poems and articles. In 1943 he was elected a Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek S.S.R. and welcomed the peace in 1945 by his large *Poem on the War and the Victory*.

After the War, he was obviously the most outstanding personality of Tajik culture and humanities; in 1947 he was elected a Member of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik S.S.R., worked in most varied functions and on the 17th December 1949, he was honoured by the third Order of Lenin. When the branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. in Dushanbe was turned into a Republic Academy, Sadriddin Ayni was elected its first President and remained in this office till his death. At that time he wrote his opus magnum, the four-volume *Yoddoshtho* (Reminiscences, 75), that occupies a key position in Soviet Tajik literature; it will long remain a model literary work as well as a significant historical source. Ayni kept on living in Samarkand but often went to Dushanbe in order to fulfil his obligations in the Tajik Academy as well as in other institutions. In spring 1954, he moved definitively to Dushanbe. Though his illness was getting worse, he kept in contact with his literary friends and as late as on the 8th July 1954, he advised the writer Jalol Ikromi on his new writing¹². But the illness proceeded relentlessly and put an end to his worthy life, on the 15th July 1954. His decease was mourned by the whole nation. The house in which the writer and thinker Sadriddin Ayni spent the last months of his life was made a museum after his death.

¹² "Tojikistoni soveti", 18th July 1954.

Sadriddin Ayni, the founder of Soviet Tajik prose

At the 3rd Congress of Tajik Writers, on the 18th August 1954, one month after Ayni's death, the poet Mirzo Tursunzoda said in his Inauguration Address on prose writings and Ayni that Tajik literature had been capable of progressing so much only through prose which illuminated life from various angles and revealed the development of social forces in a clear way: "... our first prose writings were the novelettes by the unforgettable writer Sadriddin Ayni, Father of our literature ... There is no doubt that it was no easy task for Ayni to open the door of our literature to realistic images. Ayni knew Eastern literature and its classical prosaists very well ... in a masterly way, he made use of realistic tendencies in the writings of Rudaki, Ferdousi, 'Omar Khayyam, Sa'di, Jami and other great old poets. His perfect knowledge of life, observation abilities, his passionate relation to truth, inner patriotism, love for people along with his great mastery of art, all this made Ayni the true founder of Soviet Tajik literature"¹.

Persian-Tajik literature has a thousand-year-long tradition and enjoys world fame. The writings by Ferdousi, Rudaki, 'Omar Khayyam, Hafez, Sa'di and many other poets have been translated into dozens of languages. It was, however, prevalently poetry which was fulfilling its aesthetic function for centuries, not only at Court and among men of letters but also among ordinary people who have always enjoyed listening to recitals by folk narrators and poets. There was, however, also art prose, which was usually collections of stories of fairy tales, didactic as well as humorous or satiric in content, composed for enjoyment and enlightenment; they often drew on Iranian or other (Indian, Greek, Turkish) folklore. Prose

¹ *Oid ba vaz'iyat va vazifaboi adabiyoti sovetii tojik*, "Sharqi surkh", 1954, No.9, pp.4 and 6.

was generally interspersed with verse which was either by the author of the collection himself or by other poets. Such writings are situated on the boundary between prose and poetry, e.g., the collection *Golestān* by Sa'di, with a strong verse part, or *Chabār maqāle* by Nezāmi 'Arūzi or *Badāye'-ul-vaqāye* by Vasefi, the latter having verse parts inserted with less regularity and containing many autobiographical elements of a memoir character. It is thus clear that there existed no realistic prose as known by the foremost European literatures of the 19th century: the short story, novelette, or novel, with continuous depictions of man's destiny. Towards the end of the 19th century, there appeared translations of European, especially French historical novels into Persian² and the Turkish languages read also in Central Asia. Hints at the new-age novel may be found in the writings of some Iranian authors, e.g. the criticism of the conditions in Iran comprised in the *Seyāhatnāme-ye Ebrāhim-bek* by Zeynol'ābedin Marāghe'i, which influenced also Sadriddin Ayni. It was on the lines of this book that the Bukhara writer Abdurrauf Fitrat wrote his *Sayyobi bindi* (Indian Traveller), in 1912, containing a sharp criticism of the conditions in Bukhara.

After reading the *Navodir-ul-vaqoye* by Ahmad Donish, S.Ayni desired to write prose but did not realize his wish, as he himself says, till after the October Revolution (84, Vol.7, p.464). But there were at least certain earlier attempts, such as the short articles of didactic content, in the text-book *Tabzib-us-sib'ën* (Education of Children, 37), written in 1910 for the first "new-type" schools in the Bukhara territory. New trends appeared in these articles - clarity of expression hitherto unknown in literature and efforts to depict truth and reality of life; but we could hardly class these short articles with realistic prose writings. The contemporary scholar Sadri Ziyō characterized Ayni's writings in his verse *tazkira* (anthology) in the following couplet:

² Cf. Z. Černá etc., *Setkání a proměny*, Praha 1977, pp.89-102, and Z. Černá etc., *Contributions to the Study of the Rise and Development of Modern Literature in Asia*, Vol.III, Prague 1970, pp.32-46.

*Ba nazmu ba ʔasr sukhan dovar ast,
Zi nasrash vale nazmi u khushtar ast*³.

After the Revolution which Ayni welcomed by inflamed and inciting verse, he concluded that the great period required other forms than the traditional *ghazals*, *mukhammases* etc., i.e. verse bound by metre and rhyme. The new time required new literature, i.e. prose which was capable of depicting both past sufferings and new hopes. After a few historical writings in August and September 1920, he wrote his first piece of art prose, the *Bukhoro jallodlari* (Hangmen of Bukhara, 40) in Uzbek and published it in the magazine *Inqilob* (Revolution), in 1922. It describes the bloody massacres launched by the Emir in Bukhara in 1918 in which at least 1500 people died, including Ayni's younger brother. The book depicts fanaticized priests, corrupted clerks and judges as well as hangmen void of human feeling. It comprises rather strong satirical traits and is mostly based on dialogues of hangmen; Ayni partly followed the classical "story-within-a-story" style used, e.g., in the *Arabian Nights* or in the composition of narratives entitled *Chahor darvesh* (Four Dervishes). In Ayni's book, however, the main thing is the reflection of actual events - one of the characters says: "Tell us what you have seen with your own eyes!" (84, Vol.1, p.121). This book was published in Tajik under the title *Jallodoni Bukhoro* (Hangmen of Bukhara, 60) as late as in 1935, in a somewhat revised version; the author omitted especially the dramatic dialogue not corresponding with this genre to some degree (112, p.15). The Tajik literary theory considers this book to be mostly journalistic, a sort of political pamphlet. It is, however, also of an autobiographical character and is certainly a distinctive step towards Ayni's fiction and Tajik art prose in general.

From the point of view of its content marking the subsequent literary development of Ayni, his little Uzbek reader *Qizbola yo ki Kholida* (A Girl, or Kholida) is interesting; it was written in 1922 and published in Berlin in 1924 and shows an all-round progress,

³ He commands the word of both poetry and prose / but his poetry is better than prose.

especially if compared with the *Tabzib-us-sib'en*⁴.

The novelette *Sarghuzashti yak tojiki kambaghal, yo ki Odina* (The Lot of a Poor Tajik, or Odina, 48) later appearing under the abridged title *Odina* is usually considered as the first piece of art prose by Ayni as well as the first Tajik fiction in general. In book form, this novelette was published for the first time in 1927⁵. The main character of the novelette was not yet of a fighter but only a witness⁶, the novelty of the book lying, however, in introducing a folk character into literature and thus initiating realistic prose writings. The novelette entered Tajik literature as a genre that was subsequently used both by Ayni and other Tajik as well as Uzbek authors. *Odina* is a simple man, a peasant and a member of the most oppressed part of the nation liberating itself. The book reflects the musty atmosphere of the Bukhara Emirate and contains a number of historical facts, which is typical of Ayni's whole literary work. In spite of the unhappy lot of the protagonist who dies of a serious illness after attaining freedom, the novelette is optimistic as it is imbued with the hope of a better life for the working Tajiks (105, pp.13-17). The slavery of the landless and the passive acceptance of destiny have ended - *Odina's* friend Shomirzo lives on and is a guarantee of a better future for the new generation. Besides *Odina*, in this novelette, for the first time, are depicted women who are not content with their lot and act as co-creators of a new life; and lastly, the Russian worker Ivan appears for the first time here, which denotes a revolutionary turn in Tajik literature. The novelette *Odina* was of historical significance for the development of new Tajik literature by its language and style, too. The hero and other characters as well as the author himself speak in a comprehensible manner, with no complicated phrases, as was the case with traditional prosaic texts.

⁴ Cf. S.Tabarov, *Hayot, adabiyot, realizm*, Dushanbe 1966, p.95.

⁵ The first and shorter variant was published in continuations in the magazine "Ovozi tojik" (The Tajik Voice) from the 23rd November 1924 onwards.

⁶ Cf. Q.D.Obdinuf, *Adibi zabardast, nigorandayi asarbhoi sazovori asri mo - Sadridin Ayni*, "Baroyi adabiyoti sotsialisti", 1935, Nos.11-12, pp.1-9 (in Roman script).

Fewer Arabic and obsolete words are used. A new epoch has thus been started, characterized by an outstanding literary critic and historian in the following way: "The basic trends of our art prose are first of all simplicity, clarity of thought and ideological orientation"⁷. From the very beginning, the language of the novelette was considered a model for the new written language⁸, though, of course, even Ayni's language was in development and possessed "specific peculiarities in each creative period" (106, p.7). It was of great importance that the novelette became an example and a source of inspiration for a large number of young Tajik as well as Uzbek writers. *Odina* found an immediate response also in other countries which had shared the unhappy lot of Central Asia in the past - such as Iran, Afghanistan and Turkey (110, p.15).

In 1928 Ayni wrote the longer story *Abmadi devband* (Ahmad the Magician, 59) which was published in the magazine "Rahbari donish" (Guide of Knowledge) and then several times in revised versions. The story informs on the entertainments of young people of Ayni's generation in the countryside and was useful also, in the twenties and the following years, as literature aimed against superstitions and obscurantism⁹ which was a negative legacy of older times in Central Asia, especially in the villages.

It is remarkable how a son of a petty farmer from the traditionalist Tajik countryside and a disciple of a *madrasa* with mediaeval teaching methods was able to take this way in literature and to reach forward to ever higher aims. Ayni achieved another high degree in the hierarchy of literary genres in 1930 when his first novel appeared, which was at the same time the very first novel in Tajik literature. It was the *Dokhunda* (53)¹⁰ describing the way of life of simple highlanders under the rule of the Emir, during the events of February

⁷ Sh.Huseynzoda, *Babs va andesha*, Dushanbe 1964, p.19.

⁸ On the language in more detail, see (106).

⁹ Cf. Z.Maniyozov, *Ahamiyati ilmi-adabii "Abmadi devband" dar tarbiyai bachagon*, "Maorif va madaniyat", 1965, No.47, pp.3-4.

¹⁰ *Dokhunda* was an abusive nickname of simple highlanders who used to come to cities and towns to work there.

1917 and in the period of the October Revolution. Like *Odina*, it was a protest against social oppression. The hero of the novel, Yodgor, was driven by the licence of local *boys* (rich and influential persons) to the city of Bukhara where he gets acquainted with revolutionaries and revolutionary ideas. He begins to understand the reasons for the poverty of those who must toil for their living. Yodgor and his girlfriend Gulnor help to liberate Eastern Bukhara from the Emir's rule; as volunteers of the Red Army, they take part in Civil Wars in Central Asia and experience the first period of socialist construction, in 1926-1929. Yodgor differs greatly from *Odina* in his understanding of broader contexts and especially in his activity. *Odina* was mostly drawn into the action whereas Yodgor co-creates it. An entirely new element of the novel is the character of Gulnor who joins the active and successful fight against backwardness during the Revolution. Yodgor and Gulnor have stood side by side with the heroes of classical poetry, Majnum and Leylâ, in the consciousness of broad masses. The main hero of the novel in general is, however, the ordinary people, the main factor of revolutionary events described in the novel. We may find here much of history again - an authentic source of information on the expulsion of the last Emir Olimjon, the activities of foreigners intervening in Central Asia and Enver Pasha in Eastern Bukhara. The novel has a comparatively complicated structure. It starts in the middle of events and then goes back to explain them. In a rather detailed way, the character of the protagonist Yodgor is revealed as well as the death of his father Bozor which was the cause of Yodgor's debt to a local rich man and his utter subjugation. Typical of the novel is also the way of describing Nature - mountains, rivulets, grassy valleys; these descriptions let the reader feel the author's love for his native country and his union with Nature. The novel *Dokbunda* combines features of European novels with those of Eastern prose (120, p.209)¹¹.

The language of *Dokbunda* is another advancement. It is natural

¹¹ Cf. A.Sayfulloev, *Romani ustod Sadriddin Ayni "Dokbunda", kbususiyathoi ghoyavi ba bade'ii asar*, Dushanbe 1966, p.209. Also I.S.Braginskiy, *O nacional'nom i internacional'nom v tvorchestve S.Ayni* (98, Vol.2, p.24).

and artistic and contains very imaginative metaphors, allegories based on the new reality of life. Frequent is the use of popular sayings and proverbs and the novel contains also many verses and songs. It was turned into a drama by the outstanding writer and playwright Jalol Ikromi and staged in Tajik theatres with success.

One of the most significant writings by Ayni is his monumental novel *Gbulomon* (Slaves, 56, *Qullar* in Uzbek, 55), the plot of which covers more than a century (1825-1933) and depicts the lot of three generations. Out of the generation of slaves, a generation of fighters for freedom, against violence and for new life for their native country was gradually born. It is a novel of people who have taken the destiny of themselves and their children into their own hands. The new generation was born out of the posterity of those who had been dragged here from remoted places in the Iranian and Afghan borderland and sold in Bukhara bazaars as late as in the second half of the 19th century. In its last part, the novel describes the collectivization of Central Asian agriculture and the fight against big landowners and other enemies of the new order connected with them. Ayni wrote his novel in 1932-1934; it was published first in Uzbek and a year later in Tajik, in Samarkand.

The *Gbulomon* is a book that already makes full use of the method of socialist realism and it was yet another very important example for young writers in Tajik literature. Sadridin Ayni looks at things through the eyes of a Soviet observer and depicts all the problems of social development in a clear-cut lines and vivid colours. He introduces many characters, each of whom is a typical representative of some component of the Tajik nation; thus Safarghulom is an uncompromising fighter for the liberation of the Tajik working people, later on standing also in the first row of those who fight against terrorists and strive after social changes. We meet here his enemies, too, drawn in sharp contours, such as Nazarboy, Kilichkhalifa the Young Bukharan Shokir and others who openly or secretly hindered the forces of progress. Also women who think in a new way are met here, e.g. Gulsum and Muhabbat. Women like them were bringing their Central Asian sisters emancipation from the thousand-year-long imprisonment by ignorance, backwardness and

humiliation symbolized by the obligatory wearing of the ignominious veil. The novel is a testimony to the way in which, along with the growing awakesness of their own strength, the characters of a broad mass of ordinary labourers were being moulded, and people were being re-formed, gradually strengthening their protest till they reached the decision to achieve their right to a truly human life. Dialogue is frequently used in the novel and the reader learns to know the characters much better from their own words than from those of the author. To a great extent, the inexhaustible source of folklore is utilized; we find here the words of folk songs, many proverbs, folk anecdotes-*latifas*, every character using the language and expressions belonging to his own milieu. Folk wisdom and popular art occupy distinctly more place here than in the novel *Dokbunda* and in Ayni's preceding writings. The connection of the novel with history is expressed also by its division into five parts, in accordance with significant periods of the history of Central Asia in the 19th and the 20th centuries. In his later article *The Lot of a Nation*, Ayni said about his novel *The Slaves*: "I treated the lot of my nation and the life of previous generations in this novel, but I most note that my attention was least of all turned towards the past. My mind was directed to the future. This book on what had been was written as a heritage for the future because history makes sense only when becoming a weapon for the fight for the future, in the hands of people".

Before writing the novel *Gbulomon*, Sadriddin Ayni visited his native village Sektare after twenty years, in August 1933, and at the beginning of 1934, after his return, he wrote the reportage story *Kolkhozi "Kommunizm"* (The Kolkhoz "Communism", 84, Vol.5, pp.93-106). What had been happening here in the twenties was reported in the chapters "Blood and Fire", "More Blood" and other ones, and how life was changing was described in the parts entitled "The First Tractor", "The Large Kolkhoz" etc. Ayni concludes his description with the following words: "This is no novel, no fairy tale, neither a reportage nor an exaggeration but facts...".

In the same period, his shorter piece of prose of an autobiographical character, *Maktabi kubna* (Old School, 57) was written,

in which Ayni showed to the young generation the pre-Revolutionary school attended by children from villages as well as cities; its aim was to give the children (especially the boys) an acquaintance with basic religious rites and they learned here, at the very best, to parrot a few *suras* of the Khoran without understanding their meaning.

In 1936 Ayni wrote a very significant though not particularly extensive novel, published in serial form in 1937 and in a revised form as a book, in 1939. It was the *Margi sudkbur* (The Usurer's Death, 62) in which he once more confirmed the aesthetic significance of the repulsive in the arts. Within the framework of an autobiographical description of life in the Bukhara *madrasas*, Ayni depicts, in a very attractive form, how small farmers had been impoverished and their land had fallen into the hands of usurers from cities as well as villages, and some other aspects of the economic development and symptoms of capitalism arising at that time. All this is combined with numerous episodes of the everyday life, work and entertainment of Bukhara students-*mullobachas* and craftsmen, the description of the traffic in the bazaars of Bukhara etc., at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The most elaborated character of the book is that of the usurer and miser Qori Ishkamba (*qori* = reciter of the Koran, *ishkamba* = belly), a person endowed with an exceptional lack of human qualities "who was never satisfied as long as the others were left with anything". Qori Ishkamba, though a staunch believer and a pious Muslim on the outside, does not at all abide by the words of the 2nd Sura of the Koran: "Do not make your living by usury always redoubling the loans ... " Ayni proved by this book to be a satirical typologist and a master of satire and skilfully used exaggeration. Elements of satire had already appeared in his previous pieces of prose and as early as the twenties he edited the satirical magazines *Tayoq* and *Mashrab*.

In *Margi sudkbur*, the author again presents representatives of the most varied social strata, in this case especially from among the city-dwellers, among other also persons connected with Russian commercial firms and the bank, the Bukharans who had accepted the Russian subjugation in order to be free of the licence of the

Bukhara offices. As opposites of Qori Ishkamba and the like, many simple people are introduced, such as Rahimi Qand, a hawker and folk musician, or farmers from the surroundings of Bukhara, Hamro-rafiq, Shodmon, Muhsin and others. Qori Ishkamba dies in a symbolical manner during a prayer in the courtyard of the mosque, after hearing that his whole life's "efforts" by which he had accumulated several millions of roubles had been foiled by the interference of the October Revolution.

A significant testimony to the strength, truthfulness and topicality of this novel are the words of Sarwar Guyā I'timadi, an outstanding Afghan poet and writer who had met Ayni in Tashkent in 1945. Later on he came across the novel *Margi sudkbur*¹², about which he said in a conversation with the Tajik literary historian N.Ma'sumi in 1960 that he was greatly surprised by the book because Qori Ishkamba was no Tajik speciality; that if Ayni were still alive he would ask him how could a usurer here have taken a lesson from a usurer there (i.e. in Afghanistan and in pre-Revolutionary Bukhara, J.B.) so thoroughly that they resembled each other to such a degree¹³. This is natural, of course; usury has been a scourge of all countries where capitalism has started to assert itself and Ayni could not avoid introducing the usurer into his preceding pieces of prose¹⁴.

Till then Ayni's writings had drawn their themes from a more remote history, usually the 19th century, and the plots ended with the beginnings of Soviet construction. In 1940, however, to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Tajik Soviet Republic, Ayni published his novel entitled *Yatim* (literally "orphan", but also "farm labourer", ordinary peasant, 63), the plot of which started during the Bukhara Revolution and continued during the Soviet period in the territory of Tajikistan and Afghanistan, in order to show the two kinds of approach to the problems of ordinary working people, especially the Tajiks who had left Tajikistan because of its new "god-

¹² The novel appeared in Dushanbe in 1956 printed in the Arabic script: Sadr al-din 'Ayni, *Margi sudkbur*, Stalinābād.

¹³ "Sadoi Sharq", 1963, No.4, p.54.

¹⁴ "Pravda" (Moscow), 28th Nov. 1935.

less" government, in the twenties. In this book, Ayni created the excellent character of Soro, the mother of the yatim Shodi. Typical of the novel is its new trait, the patriotism of the Tajik man, as well as the fact that for the first time, a larger number of positive characters of Russians such as Semën Semënovich and others appeared here. In the novel *Yatim*, Civil Wars in the territory of Tajikistan in the twenties and the rapprochement with Russian people were reflected in a retrospective exposure.

The last and unfinished but still the largest piece of literature by Sadriddin Ayni in his four-volume memoir work "of undoubted literary merit" (36, p.217), the *Yoddoshtho* (Reminiscences, 75). It is a book which occupies quite an exceptional place in Tajik literature and its value is still growing because it is a singularly deep source of information on the political and cultural history, folklore and ethnography, social relations and the life and activities of the most outstanding personalities of Central Asian culture of the end of the 19th century. "From the viewpoint of contents and themes as well as form, the *Yoddoshtho* is a complicated work which has been a model for Tajik writers and theorists for years and will lead to ever new conclusions" (122, p.190). It was the author's artistic aim to reveal all circumstances and people who had brought him up since his youth and influenced the formation of his character. Through them, Ayni describes the way of life and the ideas of the people belonging to various social strata at the time. The *Yoddoshtho* is imbued with strong autobiographic traits but it is no autobiography; the protagonist of the novel, the author himself, is pushed back to a secondary position and does not appear frequently and clearly. We get to know his ideas rather than how he was living and what he was doing. The tradition of memoirs and biographies was obviously one of the influences for this work, e.g. the biography of Abu 'Ali ebne Sinā (Avicenna), the doctor and the philosopher of the 10th century A.D. known all over the world, Vasefi's *Badāye'-ul-vaqāye'* (Remarkable Events) and perhaps also the book in verse by Abdulqodir Bedil, *Chahor unsur* (Four Elements), especially in depicting ordinary people like Ustoamak, Shukurbek

etc.¹⁵ Bedil was one of the favourite authors in Central Asia¹⁶ and Ayni wrote a monograph on him (79) which will be mentioned later. The whole *Yoddoshtho* is introduced by a quatrain in which Ayni calls it "a house":

I have built this house out of old bricks
To commemorate those who have passed away
And so that people of our age might know
Which way my young life had passed.

Ayni enlivens this "house" with many characters - both ordinary and highly situated, uneducated and enlightened, side by side with outstanding poets, rich merchants and poor men toiling in inhuman conditions of moulding workshops from sunrise to sunset, students as well as cartmen.

In the first volume entitled *Dar sabro* (In the Country-side), Ayni describes his childhood and school-years in Khoja Sektare and Mahallayi Bolo, i.e. the villages where he spent these years at his parents' or his grandparents'. Much more is depicted here, however - the social and economic position, mentality and characters of members of various strata, especially the difficult situation of petty farmers, complete lack of rights of women, unconditioned subjugation to religious laws (*shariat*) and feudal survivals and dependence on superstitions resulting from backwardness and ignorance. It is a rather detailed picture of the Central Asian village in the 1880's and its inhabitants, mostly illiterate and harassed by constant dearth, diseases and disfavour of Nature. Nevertheless the people are apparently gifted and strive after a better life inspired with inner culture.

In the second volume entitled *Dar shahr* (In the City), the life in pre-Revolutionary Bukhara is described. Much space is given to the

¹⁵ Cf. S.Amirqulov, *Ayni va Bedil*, "Sadoi Sharq", 1968, No.7, pp.142-150.

¹⁶ The importance of Bedil's writings was pointed out by E.Fait as early as 1910 (12, p.181), and by Alessandro Bausani, *Note su Mirza Bedil* (1644-1721), in "AION", N.S., VI, Napoli 1954-56, pp.163-199. See also three articles on Bedil by the latter author, in the magazine "Adab", Kabul, 13, 1344, No.4, pp.14-47.

descriptions of *madrasas* and the way of life in these traditional religious schools. The author recounts the pleasures and sorrows of the *mullobachas*, the Bukhara students, and in more detail the outdated and unproductive scholastic teaching methods. The reader is informed on the first news from the more advanced world and the efforts to learn Russian which was a symbol of progress and, for religious fanatics, a symptom of apostasy. We get to know also the inhuman face of the Emir's régime linked with religious obscurantism, the liquidation of inconvenient people, the hard life of Bukhara soldiers, etc.

Also the third volume bears the title *Dar shahr*. It contains a description of the changes which took place in Central Asia after its annexation by Russia, especially the spreading of new ideas. This volume is of much value also for the knowledge it gives of contemporary literature and the progressive ideas of outstanding men of letters of the time, such as Ahmad Donish, Savdo, Shohin, Hayrat etc. These parts are slightly different from the rest of the book in their more literary historical character; first of all, Ayni wanted to prove the significance of those writers for subsequent development, their comparatively progressive ideas and their place in the history of Tajik literature. This is intimated by the very titles of the respective parts, such as *Tarjumai holi Hayrat* (Hayrat's Biography), *Merosi adabiyyi Hayrat* (Hayrat's Literary Heritage), etc. Though these parts cannot possess much aesthetic value, they are very important for the wealth of information they contain, because very little had been known about these writers; Ayni's testimony preserved valuable information which supplemented, at the same time, the descriptions of the Reminiscences in a suitable way.

Highly interesting are also those parts in which the difficult situation of the Bukhara craftsmen and farmers is dealt with. For the first time, the situation of the members of the lowest social strata in Bukhara as well as the growth of consciousness among the craftsmen are shown here; the latter begin to realize that they might succeed in resisting the authority of their employers by solidarity. This is true especially of the stories entitled *Shaykhi rekhtagar va korkhonayi u* (Sheikh the Moulder and His Workshop)

and *Sukhtor* (Fire, 84, Vol.7, pp.128-141) in which desperate workers, under the leadership of the "righteous rebel" Shukurbek, set the workshop of the greedy owner on fire. Into this volume Ayni inserted also the episode of Russian scholars who were trying to improve the extremely backward hygienic conditions in the Bukhara Emirate. The fourth volume of the *Reminiscences* continues to describe the life in the city. It was finished a few months before the author's death. Again the reader meets here expressions of discontent of the broad masses and a part of the intelligentsia with the Emir's rule. The significance of the enlightener Ahmad Donish is explained, too. Ayni wanted to write one volume more which was to treat the important period around 1905, but was no longer able to do so.

As has been indicated already, the form of *Yoddoshtho* is interesting. It is a free mixture of the genre of chronicle with that of novel, historico-documentary elements are mixed up with fiction, life's stories with social reflections, the latter being often presented in a hidden form. This book, comprising one thousand pages is, in its conception, a mosaic composed of numerous miniatures, short narratives, some of which are mutually linked by their names. Each story gives a very expressive picture of the subject in question. Each chapter treats some more or less relevant problem of the period under description and all combined together form a uniform work, a perfect portrait of the time. It is, however, easy to take out any chapter and publish it separately which has been done both in original and in translations into various languages. Konstantin Fedin said of Ayni that he was "an accomplished master of the short form" and that "a perfect novel is comprised in a single chapter of his book"¹⁷. Ayni's other writings also have the same quality, but in *Yoddoshtho* this system was brought to perfection. We may say that in this respect also, Tajik writers have followed their *ustod's* example. It is apparent especially in the autobiographic book by Ayni's pupil Sotim Ulughzoda, the *Subhi javoni* (The Morning

¹⁷ *Dekada tadjikskoj sovetskij literatury v Moskve*, "Sbornik materialov", Dushanbe 1950, p.90.

of Our Life), the *Ustodi man*, *maktabi man*, *kbudi man* (My Teacher, My School and Myself) by Jalol Ikromi (107, p.110) etc.

In the *Reminiscences*, the persons, the facts, the situations and the events are often clearly authentic and many of them may be verified in other sources (cf. 89). But even those which cannot be verified are very likely; and wherever it is the matter of literary fiction, the degree of its agreement with the objective reality both in general and specifically is so high that an incidental disagreement with an individual item has no fundamental significance (e.g. when the hero was not the author himself or the person given by the author but somebody else, etc.).

Let us illustrate the character of the *Reminiscences* and Ayni's sense of satire by the following translation of two chapters, *Chamado-ni Qori Nurullo* and *Shobzodayi rammol*, from the 4th Volume of the *Yoddoshtho* (84, Vol.7, pp.301-308):

Qori Nurullo's Suitcase

Qori Nurullo had one special trait: he liked everything that was novel just because it was novel, but he never bothered to think whether it was the right time to use the novelty. One day I and some other friends decided to go for a picnic. Qori Nurullo was there too. We wanted to go to Vobkand and on to the village of Kotiyon, Khuja Orif, then to Ghijduvon and from there back to Vobkand before returning to Bukhara. We were to travel on asses or on horseback.

We all agreed to meet on the day at the Imom gate of Bukhara, very early before sunrise, partly to be there before other travellers and hire the best asses, and partly because we wanted to reach Vobkand before the day got too hot.

We were all there at the appointed time. Each of us had a travelling bag *khurjin* containing a change of clothing and other things needful for a journey. But Qori Nurullo was brandishing - a suitcase.

Because I knew what he was like I feigned to take no notice and simply said: "Where are you travelling to, Qori?"

For a moment he was taken aback by my question and then he replied: "Surely you haven't forgotten that a few days ago we decided to go for a picnic in the country together?"

"Of course I haven't forgotten, but when I saw you with that suitcase I thought you'd changed your mind and wanted to go by train to Samarkand!"

"Can't I take a suitcase on a picnic?" he asked in even greater surprise.

"Of course you can, but it makes things difficult. As you see, we have all got a *khurjin* we can throw across the saddle and then we can sit on it as we ride. How are you going to manage with that suitcase? Undoubtedly a suitcase is very useful if anyone is going to Samarkand or anywhere else by train, because he can put it in the luggage rack".

"How much longer are we going to let the habits of our fathers and grand-fathers bind us, the things handed down to us by previous generations? We need to turn to new things at last. As soon as I decided to accompany you on this picnic, and learned that we were going on asses or on horseback, I went to Kogon to buy this suitcase just for this occasion. I know perfectly well how to manage it"

The others with us also wanted to have their say in the matter, but I motioned them to be silent.

Then we arranged for the hire of asses from their owner and each of us chose his beast, threw the *khurjin* across the saddle, climbed astride it and prepared for the journey. Qori Nurullo took this seat on his hired ass, too, and the owner placed the suitcase in front of the saddle, as he wished. These fellows usually drive the asses they have hired out of the pen with brutal blows, and since the beasts know what to expect from their masters they move off briskly, braying loudly, fearing the stick.

Our asses set off as if they were on for a race, biting each other's ears and necks, manes and tails as they went, kicking out at each other and uttering melancholy brays. Naturally Qori Nurullo, who had both hands full hanging on to his suitcase, at the very first jump went flying over the animal's head, suitcase and all, and come down hard on the ground. The ass, freed from his hated burden, first kicked out at an imaginary enemy with all four hooves, and then charged down the road, getting well ahead of the rest of us.

Fortunately we were not far from the owner's place and he saw what had happened. He shouted to us to stop our asses by pulling hard on the bridle. When we had done so, the owner led the ass back to us and Qori Nurullo took his seat in the saddle again. The man put the suitcase in front of Qori again with the words:

"Brother Qori, how did you come by such an awkward piece of luggage? As far as I know this strange thing is meant for people travelling by train". Then when he was ready to leave the owner of the asses told Qori to watch the suitcase.

"If the suitcase slips off the saddle on the ass's neck, it'd take fright and dash off again, and you'd find yourself on the ground again and your awkward luggage with you". Then he looked over his shoulder and said:

"*Domullo*, when do people eat ice? Have you ever heard of anybody eating it in winter?"

Off we set along the road again. The owner did not shout at his asses this time, to save Qori from another fall. The asses started cantering slowly because

they were far enough away from their pen to feel safe from their master's stick.

Qori Nurullo had been put into rather a bad temper by all this, and especially because the owners always put short saddles on the beast's backs to prevent the rider taking on another passenger. The suitcase took up most of the room on the short saddle, and he had to huddle on what was left. However hard he tried to grip the saddle with his knees he kept sliding off on the animal's rump; in the end he sat behind the saddle while riding in comfort on the saddle was - the suitcase.

When the owner had started us off on our journey for the second time and gone to his stables, one of our friends turned to Qori:

"That fellow, the owner of the asses, I mean, told you pretty plainly, didn't he?"

"What do you mean? What did he tell me," Qori retorted angrily. "If the uneducated creature was capable of understanding anything I would have taken the pains to explain to him the advantages of using a suitcase and new things in our life altogether. But I am ashamed to waste my time on such a stupid fellow. 'Don't cast pearls before swine,' I said to myself and did not even condescend to answer him ... But I would have explained things to him alright!"

"And so you are glad you took this suitcase with you?" asked another of our friends.

"Of course!" Qori replied decidedly. But then he added a little more gently:

"It is true that there are certain difficulties to be met with when travelling on an ass with a suitcase, but at first every new thing is difficult to use, but you gradually get used to it and in the end all the difficulties become advantages ...".

Qori Nurullo was silent for a while and then he continued his remarks: "If people were to be frightened off by every little difficulty when they use new things, then nobody would bother to invent them and progress would come to a stop".

Anybody listening to him who had not witnessed his "travelling on an ass with a suitcase" would have agreed that he was absolutely right. But to us, who had experienced the confusion created by his suitcase, his words seemed absurd.

I think that he must have heard these sentences about novelties and their use from some wise man who was interested in new things; Qori had learned to repeat them but he had not understood what was the proper time to utter them.

We had gone quite a way beyond the town, passed through the Bukhara horse market and were riding up to Galajuy. Our hired asses, up to now trotting very reasonably along, suddenly took it into their heads as they often do to stop dead, and began muzzling the dust as if they were looking for something they had lost.

I had had some experience of dealing with asses when this happens. I jumped from the saddle and cut thick switches of mulberry, about three feet long, and sharpened each to a point. I gave everybody one, including Qori. Then we started

relentlessly beating our asses, pricking them and thus getting them to move again. But Qori Nurullo, who had both hands full hanging on to his suitcase, could not use his switch and so his ass went on rooting and muzzling in the dust undisturbed, and did not move an inch.

One of the other travellers, behind Qori Nurullo, began to beat his animal for him across the rump. The creature gave a bray of pain, threw up its hindlegs, took a few leaps, and then set off at such a pace you'd have thought there was a piece of tow alight under its tail. Naturally at the very first jump Qori Nurullo went flying into the dust of the road once more, suitcase and all ...

When Qori Nurullo was once more firmly established in the saddle, he put his suitcase in front of him and we went on with our journey. Qori and our companions on this trip then began a debate on the difficulties of "travelling on an ass with a suitcase" and the "advantages which are greater than the difficulties to be met with when using any new thing".

When one of the company observed that the debate was threatening to become a quarrel and that it would spoil the pleasure of the picnic, he made a suggestion:

"Now that's enough empty talk about an ass and a suitcase. If you like, I'll tell you a short tale to take your minds off this insignificant happening".

They all as one man —except for Qori Nurullo, of course— begged their friend to proceed, and so he began:

The Prince Who Was To Be a Soothsayer

Once upon a time there was a *padishah* who had a very, very stupid son. The *padishah* was well aware that after his death his son would not be able to succeed to the throne and rule his kingdom, and that therefore it was necessary for him to learn some trade in order to be able to earn his bread and not die of hunger, when he was driven from the throne. The trouble was to decide what trade to put him to.

The *padishah* himself did not know what to do, because his stupid son was no good at anything at all. At his wits' end, the *padishah* ordered all the soothsayers in the city to be brought before him, and commanded them to use their art to determinate which trade would be suitable for his son.

The soothsayers sought and sought and finally, thinking that it would be to their advantage to have the prince in their midst, agreed that His Royal Highness showed talent for soothsaying.

The *padishah* said immediately: "Are you willing to take my son as your apprentice?"

With one accord the soothsayers agreed willingly to take this task upon themselves.

And so the *padishab* entrusted his son to the soothsayers, to learn their trade; he gave them good payment in advance for their teaching, and promised a rich reward if they fulfilled their pledge and made his son a soothsayer.

The soothsayers kept the *padishab*'s son for six months and taught him their art; then they came before the king and declared that his son had mastered all their art.

The *padishab* rejoiced and decided to try out his son at once in the presence of his masters. In a great assembly attended by the whole court he hid an object in his hand and asked his son to guess what he was holding.

His son threw his soothsaying dice a few times, wrote down on a scrap of paper the signs they turned up, and then turned to his father: "What you are holding in your hand is round, with a hole in the middle and a bulge at one place on the edge".

The *padishab* was very pleased and said: "You have guessed the shape of the thing right. Now say what it is".

The prince thought a moment and then answered: "What you are holding in your hand is a millstone".

When the courtiers heard this reply they could not help laughing. But the *padishab* frowned and opened his hand to show the soothsayers that he was holding a ring. Then he angrily addressed them: "Where is the art you have taught my son? You wanted to make a fool of me! I shall punish you all severely!".

The terrified soothsayers began to plead, saying: "Oh, great one, we have indeed taught the prince all that is part of the art of soothsaying, and he has indeed acquired the ability to guess the shape of the thing you hid from him. A millstone is also round, with a hole in the middle, and the bulge is the piece of wood fastened to the edge of the stone to make the flour fall into the bag when it is ground. But there is no help for it - to guess what the object is, a man must have the sense to know that a millstone cannot be hidden in a man's palm. We have given him the knowledge he needs to guess the shape of things, but we cannot teach him common sense".

When the friends had heard the story they laughed as heartily as the courtiers of that fairy-tale *padishab*. They understood the hidden moral of the story, meant for Qori Nurullo; like that prince he could repeat sentiments about the advantages of new things very nicely, but he had not enough sense to know where and when these novelties could be used to advantage.

But Qori Nurullo did not laugh at all. He was not even angry, for he had not realised that the moral of the story was aimed at him. Perhaps he had not even been listening and had not even tried to understand the moral of the story. He was being shaken about on his ass and it was all he could do to look after his suitcase ...

The materials of *Yoddoshtbo* were actual recollections from childhood and youth. Such recollections pervade all Sadriddin Ayni's novels and prose writings. They also contain, however, information obtained from friends and other persons and the atmosphere of the time is reflected in them. But even such a realistic approach requires imagination, creative imagination. Ayni's work is no mere many-coloured kaleidoscope in which the outward features of his own nation and their evolution are grasped, but also an idea on which the people may base its conception of its own national history. A period with its basic contradistinctions is depicted here, a period full of importance and lessons to be learned - the period leading to the Bukhara Revolution in 1920 and the enlightenment of Central Asia. Ayni revealed both what was driving the Tajiks (and along with them the members of the other nations of Central Asia) forward and what was pushing them back and down. In his work he presented a progressive conception of the history of his nation which learned for the first time¹⁸, to know itself in his writings, and he was successful in that his work penetrated to the broadest masses of readers; the characters of his novels and the plots narrated by him have reached the consciousness of all Tajiks (and to a great extent also Uzbeks) and become the heroes of their everyday life. *Yoddoshtbo* belongs to Ayni's historical prose writings but in contrast to his preceding historical novels like *Odina*, *Dokbunda* or *Gbulomon*, it is not only the mass of people as a whole upon which his attention centres here but often individual personalities¹⁹.

Ayni's literary work is like every great truth and great beauty - great especially in its marvellous simplicity; and this was also true of Ayni's personality. Ayni made use of his rich experience of life and the immense store of the truth of life he had observed. Not only in his recollections but also in the fictional part of his writings, he plays the role of a commentator and a critic in his narrative.

¹⁸ M.Shukurov, *Zhanri ta'rikhi va khudogohii khalq*, "Sadoi Sharq", 1976, No.10, p.125.

¹⁹ M.Shukurov, op. cit., p.126.

In spite of all the novelty of Ayni's creation, his writings are firmly bound up with classical prose in several respects. As shown already, they were inspired by Abu 'Ali ebne Sina, Vāsefi, Bedil, Ahmad Donish. As for their form, Ayni followed the models, though modified, of his predecessors in the thousand-year-long development of Persian-Tajik prose as well as various anonymous collections of entertaining narratives and fairy tales. In particular, *Badāye 'ul-vaqāye'* by Vasefi and *Navodir-ul-vaqoye'* by Ahmad Donish influenced him strongly²⁰. His adherence to tradition is manifested also by the fact that his prose is sometimes, though less frequently, interspersed with verse and the text itself is occasionally in verse - Ayni retains the traditional *saj'* from time to time²¹. There is much difference in quantity, of course - everything is suited to the realistic method of his narrative. The classical writers did not know the alternation of dialogues with narration. There had been certain hints at this method, though rather clumsy, in the *Manozara* and the *Sayyohi bindi* by A. Fitrat (see above) but it was only Ayni who introduced it in an accomplished form near to natural conversation. Classical prose, especially from the 15th century onwards, was also noted for its language that was hard to understand and more complicated than that of poetry. It was full of intricate phrases and, according to Ayni "he was considered to be the best scribe and correspondent who expressed on two pages and in verse the idea capable of being uttered in a single sentence" (80, pp.58-59). Even before Ayni some of his predecessors had introduced certain simplifications, e.g. Ahmad Donish, but it may be stated in general that the language remained fossilized. Even the vocabulary of Donish was full of Arabic words, Arabic idioms and morphological forms which were often superfluous. It was the result of the fact that the only ones who were educated and able to write were those who had passed the religious

²⁰ His relation to Vāsefi is shown in Ayni's publication, *Vosifi va kbulosai Badoe'-ul-vaqoe'* (78), and his relation to Donish in 86, Vol.7, pp.29-44 and 436-465.

²¹ Cf. S. Musulmonqulov, *Saj' va sayri ta'rikhii on dar nasri tojik*, Dushanbe 1970, p.150 ff.

school, the *madrasa*, where the main subjects taught were the reading of the Arabic Koran, its exegesis (also philological) and Arabic grammar. Traces of this old style are apparent also in the first prose writings by Sadriiddin Ayni, though he was getting rid of this burden gradually. They still appear in his *Ta'rikhi amironi manghitiyayi Bukhoro*, in *Jallodoni Bukhoro* and partly also in the novel *Odina*²².

Ayni's merits for the Tajik language in general and the literary language in particular will be evaluated in the part treating the significance Ayni had for the science. A very characteristic feature of his prose writings is also its popular and national character lying both in the content and the rich and expressive language as well as in the truthful description of the characters. Ayni who had been brought up in an unsophisticated milieu and whose first teachers had been his father, a village chronicler, the countrywoman Tutaposhsho (84, Vol. 6, p.44 ff) and other ordinary people in the true sense of the word, knew folklore and utilized this knowledge in his novels, novelettes and stories. His books are full of proverbs, sayings and song texts and sometimes whole folk narratives or fairy tales are inserted, which is appreciated by Tajik folklorists. Ayni did not write any theoretical book on Tajik folklore but he has great merit as a collector, and in the utilization of folklore in art literature, he was an example worth following. It is typical that, proceeding from one of his novels to another, Sadriiddin Ayni was using folklore to an ever growing extent, and most of all in his last book, *Yoddoshtho*²³.

²² Cf. S.Tabari, *Roli Ayni dar taraqqii zaboni adabi va nasri sovetii tojik*, Sharqi surkh", 1948, No.11, pp.7-11.

²³ Cf. also B.Asrori, *S.Ayni va fol'klor*, in: B.Asrori, *Adabiyot va fol'klor*, Dushanbe 1967, pp.13-127, and the Doctorate Thesis of B.Asrori, *Fol'klor i tvorchestvo pisatelja v tadzhikskoj sovetskoj literature na primere tvorchestva S.Ayni i A.Lakbuti*, Self-report, Dushanbe 1968.

Sadriddin Ayni the poet

Though prose writings prevail by far in the work of Sadriddin Ayni, poetry forms a significant part of his vast and many sided creation. In accordance with Central Asian traditions Ayni was also a poet. According to his own words, it was his father who incited a love for poetry in him, while another influence was the poet Iso Makhdum who was in contact with his family (80, p.8). In the Introduction to his collection of poems *Yodgori* (Souvenir, 58), Ayni said that he had started with verse, took a fancy to poetry and till the Revolution was known as a poet. At first he always burnt his verse after a few days as he was not satisfied with it, but he did not give up and at last, even before the Revolution, he found a place among good poets of that time (58, p.63). Yes, for half of his life Ayni was exclusively a poet and even after "the frame of metre and rhyme had become too narrow for expressing the contents inspired by the Revolution" (58, p.63) and he had gone over to prose, he never abandoned poetry. It would probably be no considerable distortion of the author's profile to treat only the development of his prose which reflects the main line of Ayni's development in the clearest and most continuous way; nevertheless it would be unnatural to ignore his verse, especially in a country where poetry is still very strong and finds much response¹.

Sadriddin Ayni started writing poetry at the age of about eighteen but he had liked listening to it since his childhood, as is apparent from his *Reminiscences* and other autobiographical writings. He made an effort to procure manuscripts and lithographed collections of verse by classical poets most favoured in Central Asia at that time, such as Sa'ibe Tabrizi, Abdulqodir Bedil, Hafez etc. (e.g. 84, Vol.6,

¹ In Tajikistan, with a population of only one and a half million Tajiks, in 1959, the Collected Works by the poet Mirzo Tursunzoda were published in 16 thousand copies and Hafez's *ghazals* in 25 thousand copies, in 1962.

p.221). The well-known Tajik writer and playwright and Ayni's pupil, Sotim Ulughzoda, says in his reminiscences that Ayni took to heart the advice of Nezāmi 'Aruzi, from the 12th century, that whoever wanted to become a poet had to know by heart twenty thousand lines of verse by classical poets and ten thousand by contemporary ones. Ayni really knew many verses and had an excellent memory, as was testified to by persons who were in touch with him as well as by a description of his success in the *baytbarak*², even in his childhood.

At first Ayni's verse did not depart from the contemporary standard in any way. It was mostly love lyrics, and most frequently *ghazals* abiding by all the formal requirements including the introduction of the author's poetic name (*takballus*) in one of the last lines of the poem. Sadriddin used different poetic names, in the course of time; before 1895 it was Sifli³ (The Despised), Muhtoji (Poverty), Jununi (Madman). The first poem in which he used the *takballus* of Ayni⁴ which he then retained for all of his life and which became also his family name, was the *Guli surkh* (Red Flower), 1895 (81, p.65). In accordance with tradition, Ayni used mostly the *ghazal*⁵ form in poetry, besides *rubo'i* (a kind of quatrain), *qit'a* (fragment) and *masnavi* (poems with the rhyme system aa bb etc.) and he also wrote many traditional *mukhammas*es, i.e. particular responses to *ghazals* by other poets such as Hāfez, Hiloli, Kamāl Khojandi or the Iranian contemporary poet Yaghmā, and lastly imitations of verse (*tazmin*) by Sā'eb, Kamāl Esfahāni, Bedil or Zolfe Irāni.

² A game in which one of the players recites a line and his opponent replies with another one beginning with the last letter of the preceding line, etc.

³ Only two poems with the *takballus* Sifli have been preserved. See "Maorif va madaniyat", 1967, No.47, p.3, in A.Habibov's article, *Du she'ri ustod Ayni bo takballusi "Sifli"*.

⁴ The word has 48 meanings (84, Vol.7, p.206).

⁵ Sh. Huseynzoda: "Ayni wrote all kinds of poems. But the first place among them is occupied by lyric poems, especially *ghazals*"; in the book *Bahs va andesha*, Dushanbe 1964, p.177 ff. On the *ghazal*, see also Jiří Bečka, *Gazel v české poezii*, "Česká literatura", 24, 1976, pp.141-151.

Typical of Ayni's early writings is that they contain many a bitter word and complaint about destiny or poverty, which is a reflection of his unfavourable material situation. We meet here his sorrow that he has nowhere to live and cannot appease his hunger, these notes resounding even in his love poetry, e.g. in the poem *Guli surkh* composed on the occasion of the spring festival of flowers. Obviously it was far more than a mere lament over the lack of money which was the fashion of that time - e.g. one of the poets of the time, who was known under the *takballus* of Savdo, adopted another poetic name, Bepul (Penniless). Ayni came from the countryside to Bukhara almost without any means; he had to earn his living by service and lived in utter poverty. Nevertheless the educated Bukhara circles were soon made to recognize him. Thus, e.g., Abdullokhoja Abdi (died in 1922) said of Ayni, in his manuscript *tazkira* (a sort of anthology): "If he attains education, he will become one of the first in his time, on the path of scholarship and poetry, and will bear many a flower of contents and new meanings" (109, p.24). Ayni also became a favourite of Sharifjon Makhdum, one of the foremost Bukhara enlighteners known under the literary name of Sadri Ziyo (see p.30) who mentioned Ayni, still very young at that time, in a very commendable manner, in his *tazkiras Tazkor-ul-ash'or*, just as another contemporary connoisseur, Salimi Mirzo Salimbek, did in his *Tazkirayi Vozeh*.

At the beginning, Ayni's verse had a comparatively simple form, with colloquial and popular words and idioms, as was partly the case with the more advanced poetry of some contemporary poets too, such as Shohin, Savdo, Hayrat etc. (80, p.58f). It is interesting to note that even the earliest verse by Ayni sometimes contains autobiographic traits.

Let us quote, in a literal translation, one of Ayni's pre-Revolutionary love *ghazals* which were composed fully in the spirit of classical poetry:

When you appeared in front of the perfumer's shop
The scent of your dress overshadowed all scents.
What was it which dazed my soul yesterday?

Was it a breeze from your street or a caravan of fragrance?
 The sweetest smell will not win the contest
 If they take smell of dust from your threshold.
 Since I have known the jasmine fragrance of your locks
 The name of musk disappeared from the universe.
 As roses of the world do not possess the smell of your dress
 I say that your dress is woven from the scents of clouds.
 Oh Ayni, let friends feel the fragrant breeze
 And readers the impression of scent from thy words⁶.

One of the typical poems of Ayni's early period is *Muvashshab* (Acrostic, 81, p.69) praising a Russian circus and its performer Nina; the poem hides the name Ninajon, i.e. Ninochka (a diminutive of Nina), in the initials of the individual lines.

The poem *Mozi va bol* (Then and Now) published in 1913 in the magazine *Oyina* (Mirror) shows how Ayni's views have changed owing to the papers *Tarjumon* (Interpreter) and *Vaqt* (Time)⁷ which "aroused him from the sleep of ignorance". Ayni says that he felt ashamed of himself after awakening. He understood that the time to occupy himself only with folk fairy tales had passed ... Also social motifs started to resound more conspicuously in Ayni's poetry, though only spontaneously, without any programme. Among the poems corresponding with the contemporary social situation, there is, e.g., the poem *Zaminro boyad nafurushed* (Don't Sell Your Land) which concludes Ayni's textbook *Tabzib-us-sib'ën from 1909/10* (37). In this poem, a son warns his father not to sell his land, at a time when farmers are being impoverished and deprived of their land by usurers of various types. It is significant that Ayni included this appeal in his textbook for children, the future farmers. Another document

⁶ The ghazal *Aftod to guzori tu pesbi dukoni atr* (81, p.78).

⁷ Papers written in Tatar; the former was published in Bakhchisaray in the Crimea, the latter in Orenburg. They were sent to the Bukhara Emirate by post and the Emir did not dare to forbid their sending but at the same time, it was strictly forbidden to read them. Thus, e.g., the *kushbegi* summoned Ayni and warned him not to read these papers because "it is a sin for a Muslim to concern himself with newspapers". He called on him to read the Koran and religious books (80, p.70).

of Ayni's change in his poem *Fojiyayi shea va sunni* (Tragedy of the Shi'a and the Sunna) from which it is apparent how he was judging contemporary events and siding with progress and the interests of the masses. He condemned here the massacre which took place on the 23rd January 1910 near the Samarkand Gate in Bukhara, during a clash between the members of these two religious groups. Ayni understood that the massacre had been provoked by priests in order to strengthen their power. The poem is concluded with the following sigh:

Why to kill the near, why to bow to the foreign,
Why to destroy friends and to be afraid of enemies?

The poem *Hasrat* (Sorrow, 1913) from the same period vents his discontent with the situation of the country - this tone resounds, in an even more urgent way, in the poem *Qissai parvona va kirmak* (Fable of the Butterfly and the Worm, 1917, 81, pp.136-139) written on a theme by the Afghan enlightener Mahmud Tarzi. The poem is an allegoric conversation on the parasitic existence of "the butterfly who sucks the life's juice from flowers, and the protest of those who suffer in mud, are worn out by all-day work and are therefore repulsive whereas the butterflies are careless and gay, reside in heaven and parade their beauty". "Ayni's ideal is manifested by the transformation of the values contained in this poem which praises the toiling worm in juxtaposition to the leisured and empty butterfly"⁸. Ayni starts also to understand the importance of learning the Russian language and opening windows on to the world - this is witnessed by his couplet,

Sneg - barf, vremya - soat, khleb - non,
Voda - ob, dozhd - boron, dusha - jon ...

which facilitates remembering Russian words and understanding their meaning.

The satirical poem *Gbuladingo* (Oh Fatty) is marked by other progressive features; it was written by Ayni in co-operation with the

⁸ S.Scarcia, *Sguardo alla lirica tagica*. Oriente moderno, 45, 1965, p.254 ff.

poets H.Mehri, M.I.Subhi and Hayrat and was a protest against the blood-thirsty and corrupt *mirshab* (police official, literally "lord of the night") who was known by the nickname of Ghulading (84, Vol.7, p.351).

After suffering the insulting and cruel punishment of seventy-five lashes, in 1917, Ayni wrote in Samarkand the poem *Ba munosibati hijrat ba Samarqand* (On the Departure to Samarkand) which was an answer to the religious circles of the city proclaiming that Samarkand as a Muslim city was not allowed to accept "an outcast of another Muslim country" within its walls. He exclaimed in his poem bitterly:

They thrust a needle into your eye and order: "Keep silent!"
They stick a spear into your breast and say: "Don't groan!"

Another turn, or better to say a break, in Ayni's poetry took place in 1918 when he became acquainted with the ideas and the aims of the Revolution and accepted them. Tajik literature welcomed the Revolution by poetry⁹. Verse of an entirely new kind arose, such as Ayni's translation of the *Marseillaise* entitled *Surudi ozodi* (Song of Freedom) or *Marsbi hurriyat* (March of Freedom, 81, pp.9-10, and 35, p.67) in Tajik. It was done under the obvious influence of Majakovskij in whose initial poems we may read that "he is a writer who is singing marches and writing slogans today". At the same time, Ayni was noticing also the development in the neighbourhood; in 1919 he welcomed the full independence gained by Afghanistan in the Third Anglo-Afghan War, by his poem *Marsbi rahovard* (March for the Journey). These poems were published in the magazine *Shu'lai inqilob* (Flame of Revolution) in Samarkand.

Another poem of this sort is *Ba inqilobi Oktyabr'* (In Honour of the October Revolution) followed by many others praising fundamental transformations experienced in Central Asia, by the people who were putting these changes into motion. To express the revolutionary content, however, Ayni does not hesitate to use old forms of the rich and varied verse of classical Tajik and Persian poets, forms

⁹ R.Hoshim, *Ayni va nazmi tojik dar dab soli avvali Oktyabr'*, "Sharqi surkh", 1961, No.4, p.99.

close to the masses of the people. If Jami said, in the 15th century, "Your face resembles the sun / Your ruby (i.e. mouth, J.B.) is like pure honey", Ayni says in his poem: *Inqilob* (Revolution, 1919): "The Revolution resembles the sun, it resembles the surf ... " ¹⁰.

In 1921 Ayni wrote a *qit'a* (fragment) entitled *Inqilob* which is an exact expression of his relation to the new Central Asian reality, condemning, at the same time, the dead order (81, p.19):

Az akhgari inqilobi mo sukbt
Dun'yo'i sitamgaron chu khoshok.
Afsus makhur, ki sukbt olam,
Barguy, ki: "Kbas kamu jabon pok".

In the conflagration of our revolution
 The Tyrants' world was burnt like rubbish.
 Don't cry over the burnt world
 But say to yourself: "There's less rubbish
 and the world is cleaner".

Along with the new contents, we may find also rather new forms in this poetry, but first of all an enthusiasm for new ideals with a new poetic intonation. In Ayni's verse from this period, we often come across terms like revolution, justice, freedom, etc. A poem entitled *Inqilob* (Revolution, 1919, 82, p.12) calls on the whole East to awake "even though such an idea looks like a dream". The demand of the liberation of the East is further strengthened in Ayni's Uzbek poem *Kunjikarlilarda khitob* (Appeal to Eastern People, 1919) in which freedom is presented as a near future already ¹¹.

The fundamental change in Ayni was apparently called forth first of all by the news of the liquidation of Bukhara patriots by the Emir, in August 1918, during which also Ayni's younger brother

¹⁰ According to M.Mullojonov, *Tanqidi adabi ba tarbiyai navisandagoni javon*, "Sharqi surkh", 1961, No.2, p.141.

¹¹ "Mehnatkashlar tovushi", 12th Nov. 1919. About Uzbek poems cf. V. Abdulloev and S.Halimov, *She'rhoi uzbekii S.Ayni*, "Uzbekistoni surkh" 27th April, 1958, p.3.

آخریکه عبارت از خرابی، ویرانی و گرسنگی است، هجوم آوردند، چنانچه درجه اید مطالعه میکنیم سرتاسر روسته، مثل کارگران یک کارخانه در حرکت و جنبش در آمدند. چه در راه پای آهن، چه در دستگاههای گشتی سازی، چه در کارخانه های بارچر بانی، چه در معالک پای معدن و کان کادی و چه در میدانهای گندم و جوکاری شب تار و زردی کار افتاده اند از حسابهایی که ماه بماه اعلان میشود، روز از روز ثمره کار و خدمت در تزیین است. انجمن مشورتی که در ماه دیلکایر برگزار روسته شورایی در کمره ماسکو برگزار دیده بود، در خصوص آباد کردن دیار خراب خود قرارهای مهم را قبول کرد.

از مذکورات انجمن مذکور معلوم میشود که حکومت شورایی بفهم اینکه برای سواختن دشمن خارجی که هنوز ترک سلاح نکرده اند، حاضر میباشد، تمام قوت و غیرتش را در راه آباد کردن مملکت نیز صرف می نماید.

حمایت دهمقان را در نظر گرفته، اسباب زراعت و تخم و دانه می رساند، در معدن و کانها متفحصان را گرد آورده در ترویج کار می افتد. اسباب نقلیات مثل راه آهن و آب را در انتظام انداخته در نقل و حمل اشیا ضروریه می افزاید. با دولستان خارجه امروز با روسته طالب معاهده تجاری می بندد. راه پید کرده اسباب زراعت و ادوات دستگاههای ماشین می آرد.

از قوه برقی استفاده کرده سرتاسر روسته را با الکتریک تعبیه می نماید. دما و دما میانه شهر لولین و پتروخا را راه آهن برقی دایر شده است. باین تقریب میلیونها قوت آدمی و میلیاردها دینار و من نفقت را

تصرف می نماید. خلاصه: این گری و حالالکی که در میدان تغییرات می بینیم، گفته می توانیم که: ده جنگم آباد کردن خرابیها و رسیدن (د.س.م.۰)

مناسبت حکومت علیه افغانستان و حکومت جمهوری شورایی بخارا حکومت علیه افغانستان در عهد امیر شهید حبیب الله خان بیک نوح اسارت غازی گرفتار بود، بعد از آن که بیک تخت پادشاهی افغانستان، امیر خیر ازاد و خواهر حضرت امان الله خان بر آمد، نخستین کاری که کرد، با دولت معظم مغرور انگلیس که اولین دشمن عالم اسلامیت و انسانیت است، مبارزه آغاز کرده، آزادی خارجی افغانستان را تا بهین و خط حرکت خود را نسبت به سیاست دنیا تعیین نمود.

دوم کاری که ازین پادشاه جوان آزاد خواه سر بر زد، رابطه پیدا کردن او بود با حکومت شورایی روسته که اولین دشمن جهان تکران حزب است.

علاوه بر این، با حکومت های همسایه خود مثل ایران و بخارا رابطه دوگانه پیدا کرده هم امکان در اتفاق اهل شرق بمقابل دولتهای جهانگیر دنیا کوشش نمود.

پس از آنکه در بخارا حکومت جمهوری شورایی برپا شده آزادی خواهان بخارا را زمام این حکومت را بدست خود گرفتند، هر کس گمان میکرد که این حکومت را از همه بیشتر حکومت افغانستان تصدیق خواهد کرد، از آنجا که تا حال درین باره یگان خبر رسمی در اوراق مطبوعات بنظر نرسیده.

Fig. 7 - The article on the relations between Afghanistan and Bukhara, published in the magazine "Shu'layi inqilob", 3rd February 1921, p. 2, by S. Ayni.



Fig. 8 - The wrapper of Ayni's book, *Materials for the History of the Bukhara Revolution*, 1926 (45).

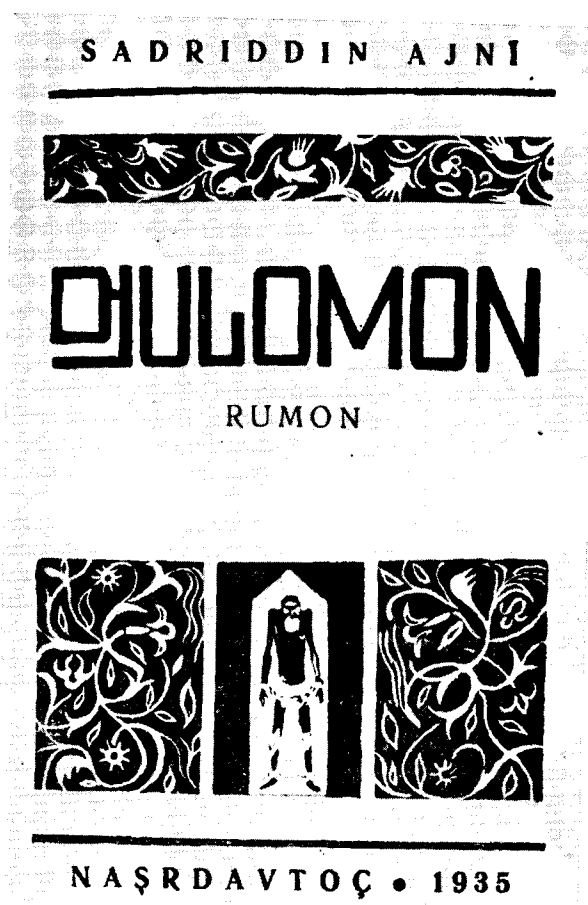


Fig. 9 - The title page of the novel *Ghulomon* (56) published in Latin script in Dushanbe (1935).

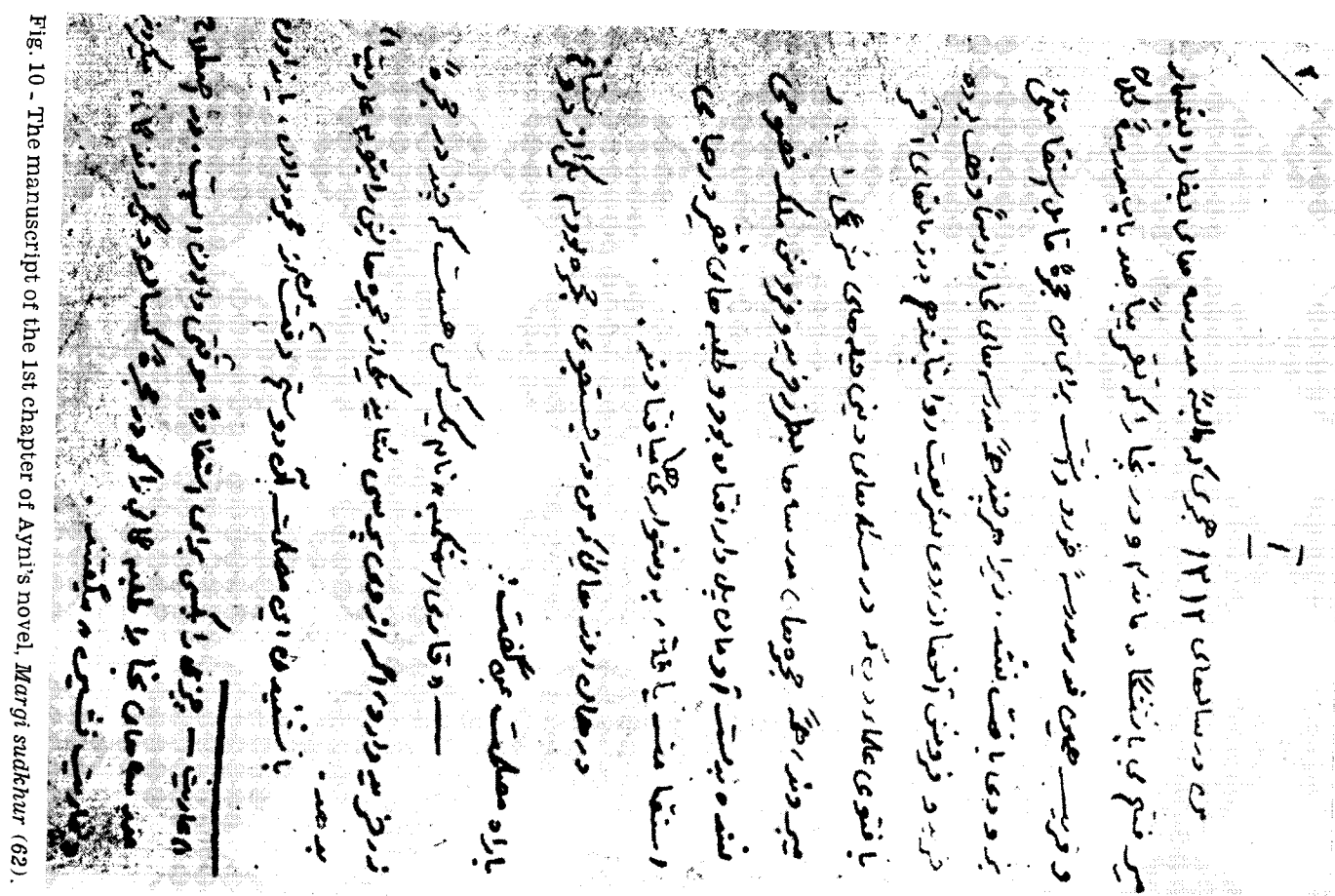


Fig. 10 - The manuscript of the 1st chapter of Ayni's novel, *Margi sudkhar* (62).



Fig. 11 - Sadriddin Ayni with Bobojon Gafurov.



Fig. 12 - Sadriddin Ayni at work.

IV

A few tyrants have clustered in one place,
 In a slaughterhouse like a pack of blood-thirsty dogs.
 The time of a stupid and abominable tyrant
 Round whom a few abominable whips are circling
 Beheads people like sheep with a sword
 And fills cups with blood up to the brim.
 They will give up souls in various kinds of torture,
 Many martyrs tortured by a few torturers.
 In that torture chamber of free thinkers my beloved one
 Was murdered as ordered by a few criminals.
 My heart has changed into water pouring out through moist eyes,
 Oh me, my dear, oh me, my dear, oh me ...

VI

I wish this house of oppression and violence to collapse,
 I wish this tyrannical rule to turn into a cemetery,
 I wish this throne which has become the cause of our disaster
 To decompose and to merge in black dust.
 I wish this crown which adorns the head of the blood-thirsty man
 To adorn the prison along with the head of its owner.
 I wish this castle, this pleasure ground of murderers
 To disintegrate and to vanish under the earth.
 I wish this pack which is holding rule today
 To face the court of justice with hands tied.
 I wish these *muftis* and *kozis*, the *tershab* and the *vezir*
 To be dethroned and drowned in their own blood,
 So that all this oppression, this evil and brutality might depart,
 So that the concessions of this Majesty sponging on people
 might disappear¹³.

The poet explicitly says good-bye to the old conception of Central Asia and gives expression to the will of all honest men to renounce Asiatic despotism.

In 1923 the first post-Revolutionary Tajik collection of verse was

¹³ *Marsiya: Dar kushta shudani barodaram Hoji Siroj dar zindoni amir* (81, pp.12-15). Out of six stanzas, the first, the second, the fourth and the sixth are translated here as literally as possible.

published, an anthology of Ayni's poems from 1917-1920, entitled *Akbhari inqilob* (Spark of Revolution, 41), as well as a similar collection in Uzbek, *Inqilob uchunlari* (Sparks of Revolution); Ayni was a bilingual author not only in prose but also in poetry¹⁴. In the following years, Ayni commemorated various occasions with new verse. He did so, for instance, on the 15th and the 16th anniversaries of the October Revolution, or during the celebrations of the reconstruction of the country, when he wrote the poem *Tojikiston* (1935), etc. He composed verse expressing his satisfaction with the brotherly co-existence of the nations of the Soviet Union and friendly relations with the Russian helpmates, poems aimed against the harmful activities of counter-Revolutionary bands called Basmachi, poems on the advancement of the Tajik country - e.g. *Korvoni surkh* (The Red Caravan, 1932) and *Rahbari donish* (81, p.27) - as well as poems on the collective work in co-operatives which were becoming a source of success of the whole nation. He wrote also a number of poems celebrating, in a traditional spirit, personalities like Majakovskij, the Tajik poet Payrav Sulaymoni, Kuibyshev, Kirov, Gorkij, Lohuti or Pushkin, the latter upon the centenary of his death, in a poem that concluded with the following lines:

Sixty nations the members of which
 Could not read and write and were backward formerly
 Are getting acquainted with Pushkin today
 In their own languages and scripts ...¹⁵

It is worth noting that in 1940 Ayni returned to the form of the extensive poem, the *doston*, once again. It was the *Jangi odamu ob* (Fight of Man Against Water, 66) sometimes called also *Dostoni Vahsh* (Poem on the Vahsh) giving a picture of the thousand-year-long efforts of man to gain water, without which there is no life in Central Asia. The *doston* comprises two thousand lines. It depicts the past and the present of the river basin of the Vahsh, the confinement of

¹⁴ Cf. Temur Shahobov, *Ayni - shoiri duzabon*, in: "Payomi barodari", Dushanbe 1972, pp.221-227.

¹⁵ The poem *Ba A.S.Pushkin* (81, pp.46-48).

the river and its employment for the benefit of "the remarkable Man" who wins the fight against backwardness. The poet stressed the historical significance of these events by giving his *doston* the form of a *masnavi* (with the rhyme system aa bb etc.) and the metre of a shortened eight-syllabic *mutaqorib* which, in the minds of the Tajiks, had been for centuries closely connected with the famous epic *Shohnoma* (*Shāhnāme*) by Abdulqāsem Ferdousi, from the 10th-11th century. In this poem, Ayni proved to be a pioneer in poetry, too¹⁶.

During the Second World War when Tajik literature, along with the other literatures in the Soviet Union, turned to less extensive genres as well as poetry, Ayni engaged his talent in defence of his native country. He wrote poems rousing the Tajiks to fight against the aggressors both on the battlefield and the work front. Such are, e.g., his poems *Marsbi intiqom* (March of Revenge, 1941, 81, p.123), *Qabramoni Leningrad* (Leningrad the Hero, 1943, 81, pp.50-51) and *Surudi zafar* (Song of Victory, 1943, 81, pp.52-53), the latter being a long poem aimed against Fascism, and many others pointing also to the destruction inflicted by the Nazis in European countries.

If the post-Revolutionary prose writings by Ayni are literally a fundamental document of the history of the Tajiks and the other nations of Central Asia in the decades preceding the Revolution and the years following it, his poetry may be divided into two parts; one is oriented in a traditional way, consisting mostly of *ghazals* and *qasidas* with the theme of love, and the other reflects the post-Revolutionary development of Central Asia and is highly topical. Ayni's poetic output consists of about 250 poems in Tajik and 40 in Uzbek, from quatrains up to a poem of 2000 lines¹⁷.

¹⁶ Cf. Kh.Otakhonova, *Dostoni "Jangi odamu ob"*, "Maorif va madaniyat", 15th Oct. 1968, p.3.

¹⁷ A list of Ayni's poems is included in the book by Kh.N.Niyazov, *Put' Sadriddina Ayni - poeta*, Moskva 1965, pp.133-142. Since the publication of this book, however, many other pre-Revolutionary poems have been published in Tajik literary magazines, thanks to Ayni's daughters Kholida and Sabohat and his son Kamol: in the "Sadoyi Sharq", 15 *ghazals*, 1964, No.4, pp.86-92; 2 *mukhammas*es and 3 *tazmins*, 1968, No.10, pp.116-120;

Ayni's poetry was gradually developing and improving. It passed through four successive stages. The first was the initial stage, approximately in 1886-1900, when he wrote poems exclusively in the classical spirit, mostly *ghazals*. The second period was influenced by Ahmad Donish, Ayni's contacts with the enlighteners and the newspapers; besides love verse, his poetry contained also poems on social and didactic themes and covered approximately the years 1901-1918. In the subsequent revolutionary period, he turned against the Bukhara régime but did not yet have any positive programme. The last was the period of construction in which he celebrated the Soviet régime, the brotherhood of the nations of the Soviet Union and the achievements of the new order and appealed for defence of his native country ¹⁸.

2 poems, 1972, No.5, pp.134-136; 14 *ghazals*, 1973, No.4, pp.75-79; 6 *ghazals* and 3 *rubo'is*, 1974, No.4, pp.121-123; 5 *ghazals*, 1975, No.4, pp.118-119. In the "Maorif va madaniyat", a *qasida*, No.23; a *ghazal* and a *mukhammas*, 1967, No.47, p.3; 4 *ghazals*, on the 13th Oct. 1968; 5 *ghazals*, on the 15th June 1968; p.3; 2 *ghazals* and a *qit'a*, on the 11th Jan. 1969, p.3.

¹⁸ Let us note that complete poetic writings by Sadriddin Ayni have not yet been published and the respective volume of his Collected Works (84) has not yet appeared. It is also typical of Ayni's poems that they are scattered in his prose writings. Thus, e.g., Ayni's reader *Tabzib-us-sib'ën*, from 1909/10, comprises 22 poems, the novel *Dokhunda*, 12 poems, etc.

Sadriddin Ayni the scholar

The main importance of Sadriddin Ayni for the Tajik nation consists in his literary works; at the same time, however, he contributed greatly to Tajik scholarship, especially by his ability to overcome the old scholastic approach and to open the door of several fields of science to modern methods. In accordance with tradition, his creative activities were many-sided¹. He always engaged in that branch which was most topical. This means that his scholarly activities were closely connected with practice, with the requirements of the advancement of his nation and in most cases immediately passed into the life of a comparatively large group of people. The Tajik literary historian Maniyozov said truthfully that in his fiction, Ayni was a scholar (110, p.14) - a linguist or a historian - but in his historical writings he was also an artist.

In the first place let us mention Ayni's role in Tajik *philology*. Ayni took "an outstanding part in the formation of the modern national language"². In his article on the first post-Revolutionary Tajik textbooks, Rahim Hoshim said: "... I must repeat how lucky we were that in the period when the foundations of our literary language (*zaboni adabi*) were being laid and the first steps in writing and translating textbooks made, this field was headed by a personality like *ustod* Ayni, a foresighted, bright and enthusiastic

¹ E.g. Ahmad Donish was an architect, a mathematician, a theorist of music, a calligrapher, a painter and an historian, besides being a poet. The connection of Persian poetry with science was characterized by Jan Rypka in the following way: "To be a Persian poet was at the same time to be a scholar, in fact even more". *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, p.101.

² Manfred Lorenz, *Sadriddin Ayni zur Entwicklung der modernen tajikischen Nationalsprache*, "Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung", Bd. 28, 1975, p. 271.

scholar"³. In spite of all efforts of enlighteners like Ahmad Donish, Shohin and the *Jadids*, the Tajiks language before Ayni still showed strong traces of dependence on the mannerism and sophistication indulged in by the Court and the high clergy and expressed by unnatural parables and excessive use of Arabic words and phrases. For Ayni as a prose writer who wanted to speak to the whole nation, this coat was too tight. He was not afraid of bringing "unkempt" words from Bukhara lanes and villages into literature. The former written language was only slightly different from Persian as it was written in the neighbouring countries, Iran and Afghanistan. This language had no standards and was incomprehensible to the broad masses because the Tajiks had significant peculiarities of their own in the morphology, the vocabulary and the phonetics of their common speech. As a man of broad outlook and rich experience, Ayni reached the conclusion that the language used up to his time was not sufficient for what he had to say to his fellow-countrymen.

In this respect, Ayni contributed most by his literary writings, realistic prose with dialogues for which he was able to find a suitable language understood by everybody. But besides this, he laid the foundations of Tajik philology in a number of articles opening discussion on the reform of Tajik. Of great importance, in this respect, was his series of articles entitled *Kitobhoi tojiki* (Tajik Books) published in the magazine "Ovozi tojik" (The Voice of the Tajik) in July-August 1926. In theory he treated the problem of the existence of an independent Tajik language and especially its relation to Persian on the one hand, and Uzbek on the other. He showed how Iranian Persian was oversaturated with Arabic elements (Ayni's estimate was 60-70%) and published a letter which had come from Iran and in which only 35 out of the total of 150 words were Persian, mostly conjunctions and the like. At the same time, however, Ayni opposed the purists who were trying to purify the language from all Arabism, Uzbekisms and Persianisms, declaring them to be incomprehensible and referring to the proposition of the "proletarian language"

³ R.Hoshim, *Ayni va avvalin kitobhoi darsi*, "Maorif va madaniyat", 30th June 1977, p.2.

by Marx⁴. His own reduction of Arabism was no expression of puristic efforts at any price, and affected the style rather than the vocabulary because the less frequent use of Arabisms was connected with a more simple style.

Ayni also proved that the language of the Iranian press was difficult to understand not only for the Tajiks but for the Iranians themselves, because of its complicity, and said that "Tajiks was the most simple and pure dialect of Persian"⁵. In a controversy on the written Tajik language, in the second half of the twenties, Ayni said that there were two tendencies - either to accept the Persian language as spoken in Iran and thus to fulfil international revolutionary duties, or to accept the pure Tajik language, in order to be able to explain progressive ideas to our own people. He avowed the latter trend and defended it in further discussion in magazines⁶ as well as conferences⁷. Then it was necessary to specify what exactly was literary Tajik. Ayni pointed out the error of some purists who maintained that there was no all-Tajik literary language and it was therefore necessary to create it on the basis of various dialects. He proved that Tajik had existed and still did exist and that it would contradict historical facts to build up an artificial language out of local dialects. In the article *Yak du sukhan az tarafi tartibdibanda* (A Few Words by the Compiler) introducing his Dictionary which he compiled in 1938, Ayni wrote: "Today's literary Tajik is not merely a language which was 'accumulated' in 50 various collections of monotonous letters by court scribes and Emir's clerks, before the great socialist Revolution of October. Today's Tajik is not the language in which the *mullahs* studied to become 'linguists' at the *madrasas*, by means of the dictionaries *Ghiyos-ul-lughot* or *Muntakhab-ul-lughot* kept in the recesses of their cells. Neither is today's literary language that one which was used by versifiers or novices of poetry in the period of the Emirate in such a way that they had learned five or six

⁴ *Javobi man*, "Ovozi tojik", 1929, No.309.

⁵ *Zaboni tojik*, "Rahbari donish", 1928, No.45, p.22 ff.

⁶ E.g. the answer to Munzim, in the article *Javobi man* (see Note ⁴).

⁷ Cf., e.g., S. Ulughzoda, *Subhi javonii mo*, Dushanbe 1956, p.309 ff.

ghazals by heart and then composed three or four *mushavvabs* (acrostics). Today's literary Tajik is expanding along with the advancement of Soviet Tajikistan in economy, culture and general socialist construction and the necessity for its enrichment is growing. It befits Tajik scholars today to enrich our language by translations from the Soviet international language, i.e. Russian, as well as by writing original books in various branches ... " (83, p.14).

Ayni pointed out the importance of studying classical authors of Persian-Tajik literature (including Rudaki and the Shāhnāme) for modern Tajik, emphasizing, at the same time, the role of the common colloquial language. In a letter to the writer A. Dehoti, dated 24th June 1940, after many pieces of advice concerning the field of language, he added: "All of your questions as well as my replies have testified to the fact that for the study of the language and the research in and analysis of classical writers (of Persian-Tajik literature, J.B.), it is essential to master the colloquial language of the people (not of one city, one region, but the majority of places where the people whose language you are studying live), and secondly all classical authors (or at least most of them) ..." ⁸.

Ayni's language is a many-voiced composition, with an exact assignment of the role of non-literary words (which are not many) as well as literary and even archaic words, special terms and expressive words and poetic idioms. Not until a Dictionary of Ayni⁹ is compiled (like, for instance, the existing Dictionary of Pushkin) will the richness and the variety of Ayni's vocabulary come to light, especially in comparison with the vocabulary of his predecessors. Ayni was passionately concerned about the language as is apparent from his many articles as well as his revisions of other contemporary writers' texts. But Ayni's views were in development too of course, and in the twenties, "the process of looking for a theoretical basis and for the ways of achieving a true democratization of the literary

⁸ *Yak maktubi purqimat*, "Sharqi surkh", 1958, No.4, pp.49-57.

⁹ According to the information published in "Maorif va madaniyat", on the 5th Oct. 1976, p.3, such a dictionary is in preparation.

language was still open for Ayni and continued to exist" ¹⁰. There are many documents of Ayni's efforts to bring his crystallizing ideas on the language into practice - records of his numerous revisions of the texts by various translators into Tajik and original writers, e.g. the Tajik translation of Furmanov's *Chapaev*, the novel *Niso* by P. Luknickij, etc.¹¹.

The language development was considerably influenced by the first linguistic conference in Tajikistan, held on the 22nd August 1930 in Dushanbe and attended by Ayni, A.Lohuti, B.Sirus, J.Ikromi, Kh.Huseynzoda and other outstanding personalities. Problems of literary Tajik, the new alphabet, terminology and orthography were discussed there ¹². Ayni's contribution was of importance, especially in the field of lexicography: he took active part in the compilation of the *Russian-Tajik-Dictionary*, in 1932, and especially wrote alone a larger explanatory Dictionary of 15 thousand words that was published only after his death, in 1976, as the 12th Volume of his Collected works (84) ¹³. Ye.E.Bertel's (1890-1957), an outstanding Leningrad Iranist who was asked to edit the Dictionary, in 1938 wrote in a letter to Ayni that he would confine himself to correct printing mistakes because "his knowledge of the Tajik language compared to the knowledge of Ayni is like that of a seven-year-old child compared to the philosopher Abu'Ali ebne Sina" (84, Vol.12, p.10). Another significant contribution by Ayni was the introduction of simple language into special texts of science which could not progress without such an instrument.

Ayni was also an advocate of replacing the hitherto used Arabic script in the Tajik language by Latin script, the former being both complicated and unsuitable for an Indo-European language and not according exactly with the forms of the words. "The new way started

¹⁰ M.Shukurov, *Har sukhan joe va har nuqta maqome dorad*, Dushanbe 1968, pp. 3-26.

¹¹ *Qajdhoi Sadridin Ayni oid ba zabon va uslubi tarjimaboi adabiyoti badei* (prepared by A. and K.Ayni), "Sharqi surkh", 1958, No.4, pp.36-48.

¹² "Sovetskij Tadzhikistan", 24th Aug. 1930.

¹³ Reviewed by V.Kapranov, *Sabmi arzanda*, "Tojikistoni soveti", 15th Aug. 1976, p.3.

by the Tajik people means that broad masses will acquire education which is impossible in the existing (i.e. Arabic, J.B.) script. The new alphabet must be so simple that every Tajik child will be able to master it within a month" ¹⁴ Ayni wrote in an article on this subject. Almost all his suggestions were accepted (105, p.85). He was bearing in mind the cultural advancement of future generations, though he himself, more than fifty years old at that time, would hardly be able to get used to a new way of writing; till his death, he went on using the Arabic script.

Perhaps all Tajik prose writers active during Ayni's life, including the most experienced ones, admit that Ayni was tireless in drawing their attention to linguistic slips, unsuitable words and word connections in their writings, which all of them considered an honour. Well known, in this respect, is Ayni's *Maktubi kushoda ba rafiq Tolis* (An Open Letter to Comrade Tolis), dated 12th December 1948, published in the literary magazine "Sharqi surkh" (now "Sadoyi Sharq"). In it Ayni explained his ideas on the use of local dialects in the literary language to a young débutant in prose, P.Tolis (1929-1961), referring to the authority of M.Gorkiy ¹⁵. Ayni also followed constantly all Tajik press and book production as is apparent from his writings as well as his talks ¹⁶, and took down notes on the texts by various authors in which he corrected linguistic and factual errors ¹⁷. As late as at the age of seventy two, Ayni wanted to write a book on Tajik morphology and syntax, "if Fate permitted" ¹⁸. Fate however, did not permit.

Of no less importance is the role played by Ayni in Tajik and partly also in Uzbek *literary history and theory of literature* in which he started to work after the Revolution. His very first book in this

¹⁴ *Dun'yo'i nav va alifboi nav*, "Ovozi tojik", 1927, No.171.

¹⁵ See M.Shukurov, *Ayni va zaboni khalq*, "Sadoyi Sharq", 1967, No.5, pp.124-135. Tolis' reminiscences in the "Sharqi surkh", 1962, No.4, pp.122-126.

¹⁶ Cf. R.Khadi-zade, *Slovo ob Ayni*, "Pamir", 1968, No.2, p.76.

¹⁷ See, e.g., S.Ayni, *Qajdho dar hosbiyabo* (Ed. by S. and Kh. Ayni), "Sadoyi Sharq", 1968, No.9, pp.90-96.

¹⁸ M.Shukurov, *Ayni va zaboni khalq*, "Sadoyi Sharq", 1967, No.5, p.129.

field, *Namunayi adabiyoti tojik* (Image of Tajik Literature, 44) from 1926, was of immense significance and was the first step of Soviet Tajik literary history in general¹⁹. Though still obviously marked by the tradition of Persian anthologies (*tazkira*), it nevertheless differs from them considerably and puts a definite end to the *tazkira* tradition. It is an anthology based on the geographical principles as it includes authors from Central Asia writing in Tajik (Persian). It differs from the old *tazkiras* especially in that it contains evaluations in numerous cases, makes textual criticism, points out errors and mistaken views of the older anthologies and attempts a scientific explanation of literary facts. Thus, for instance, it rejects the views of Davlatshoh Samarqandi, of the 15th century, and other authors of the *tazkiras* who mentioned Rudaki's writings with disrespect, from the point of view of their time (44, p.17f). In the Introduction to the 3rd part, Ayni gives a kind of periodization of the modern epoch; stating that the new literature started in 1905, he divides it into two periods, i.e. 1905-1917 and 1917-1925 (the year when the book was written), finding the beginning of the "new period" in the spread of newspapers from Turkestan in the Bukhara territory. Then he says that the form of poetry has not changed, but its content is new (44, p.529). The importance of the book lies also in that it includes writers who had been unjustly forgotten, it contains a special part on women-poets, and especially it emphasizes the role of significant authors like Rudaki. Ayni considers him the founder of Tajik literature. Much space is devoted also to post-Revolutionary authors. In a reply to Aziz's criticism of this book, Ayni says that his treatise comprises information on and extracts from 200 writers and that he had to study 70-80 old writings in order to be able to write the book. This work was highly appreciated by the outstanding Iranian man of letters and literary historian, Sa'id Nafisi. He said that he was "especially captivated by that part of the book which treated the

¹⁹ Cf., e.g., the article *Sadriddin Ayni - avvalin adabiyotshinosi sovetii tojik* (S.Ayni, the first Soviet Tajik Historian of literature), by Kh.M. Mirzozoda, in: Kh.M.Mirzozoda, *Mulohizaho dar borai adabiyot*, Dushanbe 1963, pp. 172-194.

Central Asian poets of the post-Timur period because at that time almost nothing was known about the poetry of that epoch in Iran”²⁰.

Sadriddin Ayni conceived Tajik literature in a broader sense than mere writings by Central Asian authors though he felt naturally most closely related to them. But in Central Asia, also classical Persian poets from Iran like Hāfez or Sa‘di were much favoured and therefore Ayni took up classical authors of Persian-Tajik poetry in his subsequent literary research, treating them in smaller monographs. He himself used the term “*forsi-tojiki*” (e.g. 84, Vol.10, p.290; Vol.11, No.1, p.121), thus stressing the common heritage of the Iranian Persians and the Central Asian Tajiks and refuting the error of some chauvinists who called all authors simply Tajik. On the other hand, however, some Tajik literary historians do not find this term suitable.

S.Ayni’s first monograph on literary history was his treatise on Ferdousi (65) written in 1934, upon the occasion of the celebration of the millenary of the poet’s birth and published in the magazine “Baroyi adabiyoti sotsialisti” (For Socialist Literature, in Latin script). Ayni analyses here especially the epic *Shāhnāme* (*Shohnoma*), pointing to the history of its rise and the proximity of its language to contemporary Tajik. A.Fadeyev appreciated this article as stimulating and considerably broadening the conception of the poet and his epic²¹. Ayni did not mechanically hold to the data given by older literary historians but on the contrary stated that “some data given by the authors of *tazkiras* cannot endure the criticism of reason and logics. In solving many questions, it is necessary to turn to the political and economic situation of the period in question, to respect them and to make conclusions on their basis (84, Vol.11, p.36). Ayni highly appreciates the language of the epic and its popularity (*ibid.*, p.148).

In 1940 Ayni took part in the preparation of another anthology compiled in a yet more advanced way by a group of authors and entitled *Namunaboi adabiyoti tojik* (Images of Tajik Literature); it was published in Dushanbe and printed in Latin script.

²⁰ Russian translation, “Pamir”, 1968, No.2, pp.81-82.

²¹ “Sadoi Sharq”, 1961, No.12, pp.73-75.

Ayni wrote another important and independent monograph in 1939, upon the occasion of the 900th anniversary of the death of the philosopher, scholar and poet Abu 'Ali ebne Sinā; this book was also printed in Latin script (61) but its second enlarged edition appeared in Russian characters, in 1941. The book offers extracts from Avicena's writings in Tajik, i.e. poetry and treatise included in the *Donisbno* (Book on Knowledge). The aim of this book was to contradict the false assertion that only the Persians (Iranians) and the Arabs were the heirs of this philosopher and doctor. Ayni proved that the writings by Abu 'Ali ebne Sinā (Abuali Sino) were connected with Tajik culture and that he himself was born in the village of Afshana, modern Laghlaqa, near Bukhara. This is verified both by Narshakhi's History and by the common belief of the local population. Avicena naturally wrote his scholarly writings in Arabic as was usual at that time. Other interesting articles on this author by Ayni were published in magazines.

Also important is his treatise entitled *Shaykh Muslibuddin Sa'diyi Sherozi* (69), on the life and the writings of the great Persian poet from Iranian Shiraz who, however, has always been highly appreciated in Central Asia²². The treatise was published in instalments in the magazine "Sharqi surkh", in book form in 1942 and once more, in 1945, as the Introduction of an anthology from Sa'di's *Buston* (72). Ayni surpassed the preceding literary research in this field. He makes an ideological and artistic analysis of the book, gives a more exact version of some data on the poet's life and disprovers some fabrications; he considers Sa'di to be the first prose writer of Persian-Tajik literature²³. Ayni presents Sa'di as a personality connected with the people, expressing their aspirations and criticizing the deeds of those who were ruling both from the throne and the pulpit. As mentioned already, he edited Sa'di's *Buston* (Garden) with an Introduction and a vocabulary comprising 677 words, in 1945. Here he

²² E.g. the *Guliston (Golestān)* by Sa'di was published in 25 thousand copies, in Dushanbe in 1962.

²³ Cf. Kh.Mirzozoda, *Sadriddin Ayni - avvalin adabiyotshinosi sovetii tojik* (see Note ¹⁹), p.192.

points out realistic elements in the poet's writings and stresses Sa'di's humanism as the main reason why the poet has become a world personality in literature. And this is typical of Ayni that, in his treatment of old Masters, he emphasized their humanistic features, love for their native country and hatred of oppression, and systematically draws attention to their expressions of social discontent.

In connection with the need to show the time-honoured friendship of Tajik and Uzbek people and their fruitful co-existence, Ayni wrote the book *Alisber Navoi* (73) in 1948, treating the personality who was a symbol of such co-existence with the 15th century Persian-Tajik poet A.Jāmi. In this extensive monograph, Ayni included also an anthology of the Tajik writings by this founder of Old Uzbek poetry. In addition he edited Navoi's *Khamsa* (Five Poems) with an introduction, notes and vocabulary, in 1940 and again in 1947.

Perhaps Ayni's most significant contribution to Tajik literary history is his monograph *Mirzo Abdulqodir Bedil* (79), published shortly after the author's death²⁴; in his Preface the outstanding Iranist of that time, Ye.B. Bertel's calls the book a great gift. The importance of the book is enhanced by the circumstance that Bedil was a model for almost all poets of Central Asia, from the 17th to the 20th centuries, and for some still continues to play this role today. Bedil is a very complicated and difficult author²⁵ - and Ayni, as an educated and brilliant Central Asian, was undoubtedly the most competent to say something essential about him. His monograph is the first detailed book about Bedil's time, his life and his writings, with data culled from various sources and revealing the sometimes deeply hidden significance of his poetry. In its introductory part, the

²⁴ According to the Introduction by Kamol Ayni, the treatise was written in 1946 but was not published as the author intended to revise it (79, p.5). In 1946-1947, three articles on Bedil by Ayni were published: *Vatani Bedil* (Bedil's Native Country), *Zamoni Bedil* (Bedil's Time) and *Tarjimai holi Bedil* (Bedil's Biography), in the magazine "Sharqi surkh", 1946, No.7; 1947, Nos. 2-3.

²⁵ According to Ayni, "Bedil was a sea" and the Uzbek philosopher Ibrohim Mu'minov (who wrote the monograph *Bedil the Philosopher*) took only a drop of it ... (105, p.164).

book presents a true picture of the situation in India and Central Asia at that time. Ayni conceives Bedil as a humanist and an advocate of a friendly co-existence of the Hindus and the Muslims. Also the chapter on Bedil's influence on Central Asian literature is interesting. Ayni depicts him as a poet especially loved by the Tajiks who have known his poetry since remote times; his *ghazals* have always been sung by the *hofizes*, Tajik folk singers (79, p.110). Ayni was also the author of a more extensive introduction to the Russian translation of Bedil's large poem, the *Komde va Mudan*, (Komde and Mudan), published in Dushanbe in 1949.

Another posthumously published book by Ayni is his *Vosifi va khulosayi "Badoye'-ul-vaqoye'"* (Vosifi's Anthology from the Badoye'-ul-vaqoye', 78). In this book, Ayni recalled this very interesting Central Asian writer of the 16th century who had not been paid enough attention till that time. Ayni connected him clearly with the Tajik cultural heritage and included in his book also an extensive selection from Vasefi's chief work, in a form accessible to a reader of today. In the *Namunayi adabiyoti tojik*, Zeynoddin Vasefi had already been given a fair amount of space (44, pp.105-112) and Ayni wrote also a long article on him, for the magazine "Ba rohi Lenin" (On the Lenin Way), in 1940.

Ayni was the author of a shorter treatise on Rudaki (68) who is usually considered the founder of Persian as well as Tajik poetry. Of special importance was the fact that Ayni, after having studied old authors from the 12th century onwards in a detailed manner, definitively fixed the place of Rudaki's birth and death, that had only been hinted at in a misty way till that time²⁶. It is the locality called Rudak, near Panjakent, in North-Western Tajikistan, where the grave with his remains was found, and especially the connection with the name of the great founder of Persian-Tajik poetry preserved, in the consciousness of the local people. In his treatise on Rudaki written in co-operation with A.Dehoti, Ayni concluded that the poet was blind

²⁶ In the article, *Qabri ustod Rudaki va debai Rudak*, "Sharqi surkh", 1940, No.5, pp.25-27.

since his birth, and gave proof of this²⁷. He showed also that Rudaki was born in a simple milieu of ordinary people, proved his name to be Abu Abdullo binni Muhammad binni Odam and depicted his unhappy life in his old age. He said that "the Tajik of today easily understands the majority of his poems" (68, pp.11-12, 25 and 148).

The field of literary history is represented by a number of other articles in Sadriddin Ayni's writings, that elucidate some problems of classical poets or anonymous works. Thus he paid attention to the writings by Kamol Khojandi, a remarkable Central Asian writer from modern Leninobod, and wrote an excellent introduction to the Russian translation of the classical narrative, *Chahor darvesh* (Four Dervishes, 76), proving, on the basis of a detailed textual analysis, that its author was not Amir Khusrau Dehlavi, as had been believed for the last 150 years. This opinion was definitely confirmed after the translation of this book from Urdu into Russian had been published. All of the said scholarly writings by Ayni were imbued with a common quality of much significance: though they were pioneer research works, they were written in such a form that broad masses of readers read them like art literature²⁸. One of Ayni's merits is also the discovery of the tomb of Abdurrahman Mushfiqi (1538-1588), an important Bukhara poet and a renowned satirist (107, p.101).

Also immense is Sadriddin Ayni's contribution to the knowledge of Central Asian Tajik literature (and partly also Uzbek) of the second half of the 19th century. Many personalities were introduced by him, for the first time, in the *Namunayi adabiyoti tojik* (44), along with extracts from their writings, and further information was added especially in his memoirs *Yoddoshtho* (75), the most part of the third volume of which is devoted to the description of the cultural life of Bukhara at the end of the 19th century. We find here especially re-

²⁷ A collection of articles by S.Ayni concerning Rudaki was published in Russian under the title, *Ustod Rudaki*, Moskva 1959, 120 pages.

²⁸ Cf. R.Khadi-zade, *Slovo ob Ayni*, "Pamir", 1968, No.12, p.74. Interesting information may be found here testifying to the depth of Ayni's knowledge of classical poetry as well as of 19th-century writings. The author of the reminiscences was in frequent contact with Ayni during the last years.

Ин хона зи хишти кӯҳна андохтаам,
Дар вай чашне зи рафтагон сохтаам,
То аҳли замони мо бидонанд, ки ман—
Як умри ҷавонӣ ба ҷӣ раҳ бохтаам.

Муаллиф.

این خانه ز خشت کهنه انداخته ام
در وی جشنی ز رفته گان ساخته ام
تا اهل زمان ما بدانند که من —
یک عمر جوانی بچه ره باخته ام.
مؤلف

Fig. 13 - The quatrain introducing the book *Yoddoshtho* (75), above in the contemporary script, i.e. the adapted Russian script, beneath in the old Arabic script used in Central Asia till 1929.



Fig. 14 - The title page of S. Ayni's historical book, *Temurmalik, the Hero of Tajik People* (71). A later edition, Dushanbe 1961.

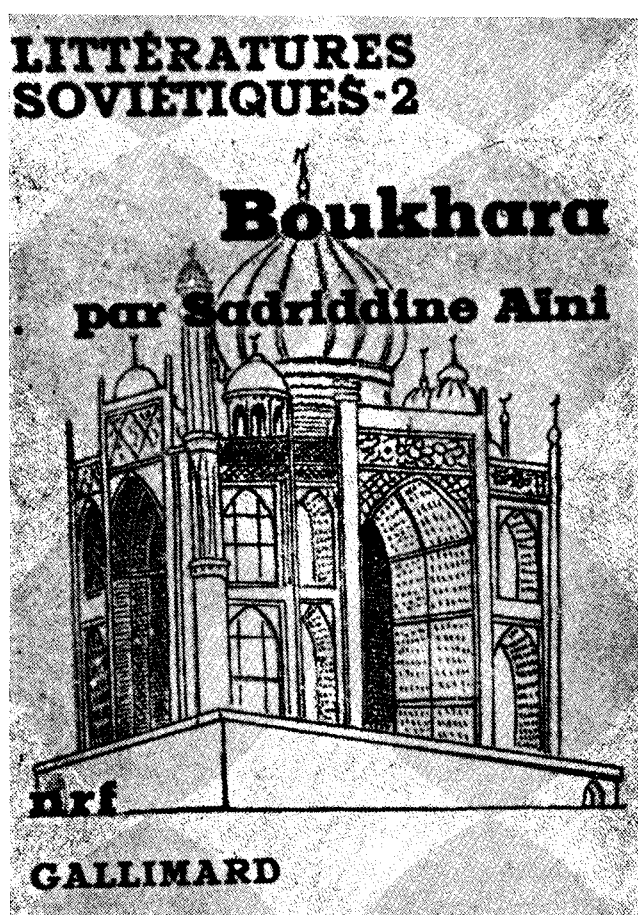


Fig. 15 - The French translation of a selection from the *Yoddoshtho* (75), Paris 1956.

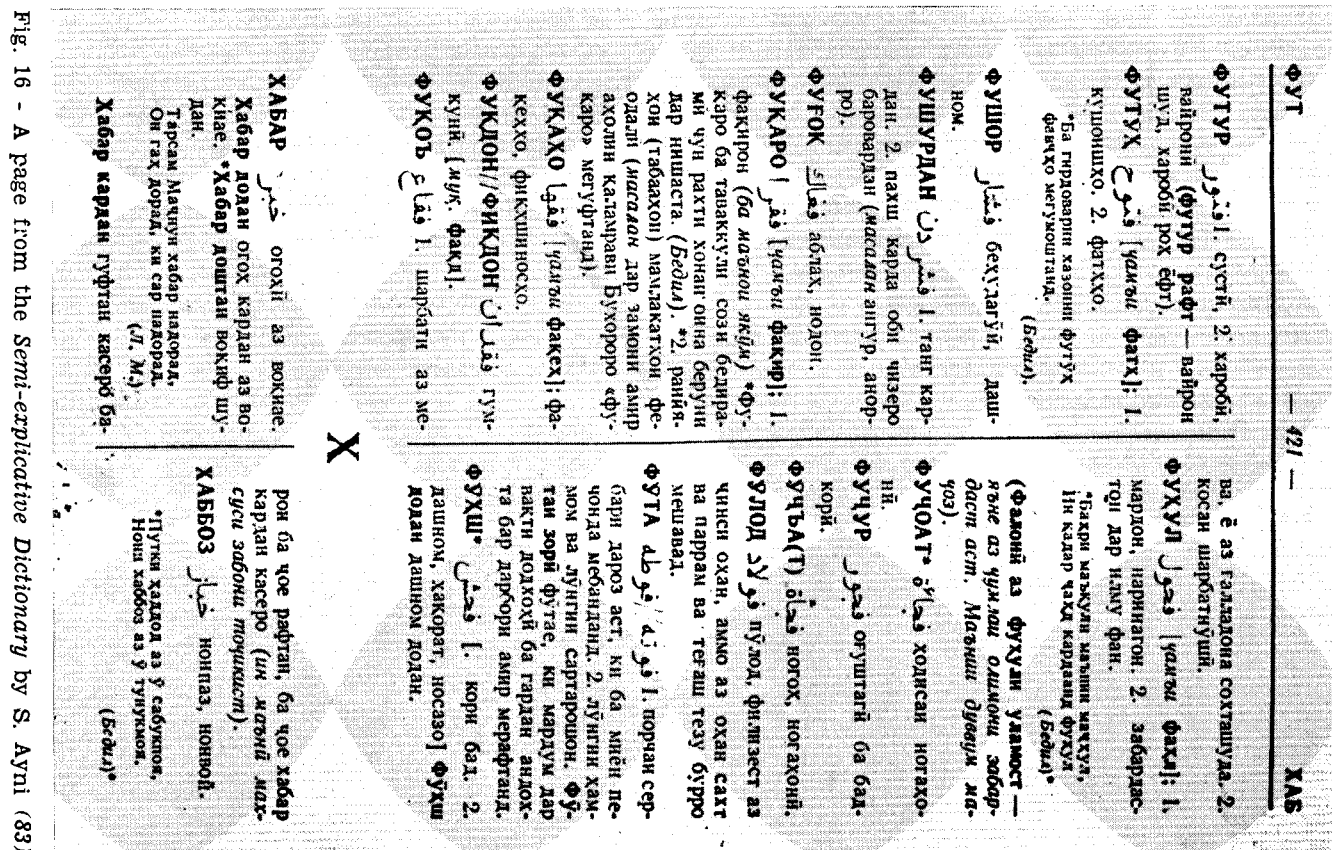




Fig. 17 - Tajik writers welcoming S. Ayni in Dushanbe, on his arrival from Samarkand.



Fig. 18 - S. Ayni elected the first President of the Tajik Academy of Sciences, in 1951.

collections of the poets Shohin, Sahbo, Gulshani, Hayrat etc., as well as information not to be found in any other source. It is of much significance that Ayni differentiates between the personalities who brought progress and kept the advancement of their country in mind from those who were their enemies and reactionaries maintained by Court.

Tajik literary history and science in general would be much poorer without Ayni. On the foundations laid by him these branches have advanced and reached a high level today. We can also say that the very study of the personality of and the writings by Sadriddin Ayni has contributed to a further enrichment of literary history and theory; many a Tajik as well as foreign student of today has won his spurs by analysing Ayni's activities.

Sadriddin Ayni belongs also to the founders of modern Tajik *historiography*; he was the first historian of the Tajik people and of Central Asia in general who approached his task in a scientific way. His very first historical treatise, *Ta'rikhi amironi manghitiyayi Bukhoro* (The History of the Bukhara Manghit Dynasty), published in instalments in the magazine²⁹ *Sbu'layi inqilob* (Flame of Revolution) in 1921-22 and in a revised book form in Tashkent, in 1923 (42), already contains elements of a new conception. For the first time, Ayni presented the history of Bukhara in a way differing from that of official Court historians. His treatise comprises also critical analyses of events and describes everything in a just way; thus in contradistinction to the official historiography, the author calls Muhammad Rahim (1753-1758), the founder of the Manghit dynasty, a blood-thirsty despot, especially because he ascended the throne after the assassination of the Ashtarkhanid Abulkhayrkhan and his sons. Similar was the case with the majority³⁰ of the other rulers of this dynasty; Ayni pointed out the harmful effects of their incessant military campaigns

²⁹ At first, the majority of literary production was published in magazines.

³⁰ The historian Zarif Rajabov writes that, in some cases, Ayni underestimated negative qualities, e.g. when ascribing high education and modesty to the Emir Shohmurod (1785-1800) ... (116, p.34).

which impoverished the masses and brought death and destruction to thousand of peaceful citizens, though being conducted on the basis of *fatvâ* (opinion) of high priests. Ayni shows, for example, that Nasrullo (1826-1860) was not capable of utilizing the antagonism between the Tsarist government and Great Britain for the benefit of the Bukhara Emirate. Of much value is the part dealing with the annexation of Central Asia by Russia because Ayni could use various local sources reflecting, for instance, the response of the inhabitants. Rajabov says: "Though we do not find a clear appreciation of the annexation of Central Asia by Russia, in S.Ayni's writings, it is obvious from them that this annexation had actually a progressive character and was a step forward in the history of this area, irrespective of the colonial policy of the Tsars" (116, p.38). In this first historical book by Ayni, very important is the treatise on the period of the last two Emirs, Abdulahad and Olimkhon, during whose rule he lived and which he experienced personally. Ayni devotes much space to the description of the school system which he describes as extremely backward and the cause of the backwardness of the whole country. Another important part is the description of the Bukhara army under the last Emirs. Ayni also drew attention to the significance of the enlightenment movement in Bukhara and appreciated the writings by its representatives, Zufunun, Shohin, Savdo, Somi etc., because of their sincere attitude to the needs of the people, their criticism of Court and propagation of education and justice³¹.

The second historical book by Ayni has been so far published only in Uzbek. Ayni wrote it in 1920-1921 and it was published in Arabic script in Moscow, under the title *Bukhoro inqilobi ta'rikbi uchun materiallar* (Materials on the Bukhara Revolution, 45). It contains an appreciation of the influence of the first Russian Revolution on the national liberation movement in Central Asia and points to the co-operation of Tsarist offices with the Bukhara Emirate in suppressing democratic ideas of any kind. It depicts the influence of the February and the October Revolutions, the latter being, according

³¹ R.Hodizoda, *Tadqiqoti ilmiî Sadriddin Ayni oid ba ta'rikbi adabiyoti tojik, "Sharqi surkh"*, 1950, No.8, pp.98-114.

to Ayni, a necessary precondition of the revolution in Bukhara in 1920 and the overthrow of the Emir's régime.

All of Ayni's activities were always closely connected with the historical situation and the needs of society. The historical writings mentioned above answered the questions brought up by the Revolution and explained why the régime had to be changed; and the writings which originated during the Second World War were aimed at reviving hatred of the aggressors in the Tajik people as well as respect for the heroes who had defended their country in the past. In the historical book *Qabramoni khalqi tojik Temurmali*k (Temurmali, A Hero of the Tajik People, 71), the readers got the first monograph on this Tajik hero. Ayni described here the fight of the people of Northern Tajikistan against the Mongol occupation at the beginning of the 13th century, on the basis of a few contemporary chronicles. It is a description of the situation in Central Asia, especially Khojent, before the Mongolian invasion, the progress of crafts, commerce, culture and fine arts, the heroic defence of the city under the leadership of Temurmali, and the hero's subsequent lot. According to Shukurov, the book is a combination of scholarship and literature and is one of the most relevant writings by Sadriddin Ayni imbued with romantic elements³². The author himself called his treatise a literary historical sketch; it contains relatively more of *saj'* (rhymed prose) which has resulted from drawing on classical historians³³; the *saj'* adds also to the impression of solemnity and excitement.

A similar aim, i.e. to arouse in the Tajiks pride in their past and hatred of the invaders, was followed by another monograph by Ayni entitled *Is'ëni Muqanna'* (Muqanna's Insurrection, 70), on the hero of an anti-Arab insurrection in the 8th century A.D. He is presented as an experienced leader of the insurgents, in contrast to other historians and novelists who had depicted Muqanna almost as a fairy-tale character, a magician dominating the masses by impure forces and license³⁴. The introductory part treats the preceding insurrections

³² M. Shukurov, *Pahluboi tadqiqi badei*, Dushanbe 1976, p. 82.

³³ Cf. P. Musulmonqulov, *Saj' va sayri on dar nasri tojik*, Dushanbe 1970, p. 173.

³⁴ He was conceived in this way, e.g., by the Czech writer Jiří Weil in his novel

including those by Abu Muslim, Sundob Majusi, Sharik of Bukhara, etc.

Tirozi jahon (Beauties of the World), a shorter treatise from 1938, contains a short survey of the history of the city of Khojent since the Mongolian occupation and presents the fight of the Tajik people for independence again. For an historian of Tajik culture, other articles are even more important, e.g. *Nazare ba guzashtai san'ati khalqi tojik* (A View of the Past of Tajik Arts)³⁵, and an interesting article on irrigation in Central Asia and the ways in which the control of water was misused for the exploitation of farmers in the past. In an extensive review of the important book, *Ta'rikhi mukhtasari khalqi tojik* (A Short History of the Tajik Nation, 74) by B. Gafurov, Ayni considers this book to be a great success of Tajik historiography and fully agrees with Gafurov's conception of Tajik history. Historically relevant information is contained also in some journalistic articles by Ayni, e.g. the Kolkhozi "*Kommunizm*" (The Kolkhoz "Communism") from 1933 (84, Vol.5, pp.93-106), depicting the pre-Revolutionary social and economic situation in a detailed manner, and comparing it to the contemporary situation.

For a historian of Central Asia and the Near East in general, Ayni's literary historical writings are and will always be of much value as they usually contain as well rather detailed data on the time of the authors dealt with, from the point of view of a modern researcher. Such special chapters may be found in his monographs on Navoi, Sa'di and Bedil. Similarly much importance, for the history of the 16th century, is to be attached to Ayni's edition of Vāsefi's *Badāye'-ul-vaqāye'*, and, for the conception of the Tajik nation, the *Namunai adabiyoti tojik*, in which Ayni demonstrated that the Tajiks were neither Persians nor Persianized Turks but an independent nation (116, p.47). All writings by Ayni and especially all of his historical novels and novelettes, as shown above, are important for an historian as they reflect, in a truthful way, the social and the economic situation of Central Asia till the beginning of the socialist con-

Mukanna - otec divu (Muqanna, Father of Wonders), Praha 1945. The novel was written during the War and was an allegory of Adolf Hitler.

³⁵ "Sharqi surkh", 1941, No.3, pp.11-16.

struction in the 1930's, being the testimony of a receptive participant. Many a piece of historically relevant information is included, for instance, in the rather short novelette *The Usurer's Death*, on the life of Bukhara students, the study at the *madrasas*, the machinations of usurers and the connections of usurers and the connections as well the antagonisms between the usurers of the cities and those of the country-side, on the process of the impoverishment of petty farmers, the role of the Russian Bank in the territory of Bukhara, etc. Ayni's novels are artistic reproductions of real life, speaking often of people who lived and acted exactly as in his novels. This is apparent from his open letter, *Javobi man* (My Answer) published in the magazine "Baroyi adabiyoti sotsialisti" (1933, No.4, pp.20-23) in which Ayni, in a polemic with Bektosh, enumerated persons who had witnessed the events described in his novels and a few people who had taken part in the events described in the novels *Odina* and *Dokhunda*.

An entirely exceptional place, in this respect, is occupied by Ayni's four-volume *Yoddoshtho* (Reminiscences, 1949-1953) which are often a direct and primary source throwing light on various aspects of life in Bukhara and the Bukhara Emirate, social conditions, mutual relations of various groups of inhabitants and individual persons, the cultural situation, etc. Of this kind, for instance, are the chapters dealing with the Bukhara cartmen and their guild and, connected with this, the machinations of the clergy used for the suppression of every sign of resistance under the pretext that it is a violation of religious dogmas (84, Vol.7, p.365 ff). Ayni's literary works reflect, first of all, the period at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, but to a great extent also the period of the Revolution, the Civil Wars and the socialist construction of Tajikistan. In this respect, Ayni's writings from a chronicle of significant events put down by an educated personality closely connected with the people and imbued with a broad outlook and rich experience of life, as well as a man who knew the history and the aspirations of his nation intimately. The scholarly writings by Ayni were of much importance for the development of historicity in his fiction, the formation of his conception of the nation's history and the develop-

ment of personality in his novels³⁶.

When the branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. in Tajikistan³⁷ was turned into an independent Academy in 1951, Sadriddin Ayni was elected its President in the first session. He was 73 years old and ill at that time, but the recollections of his colleagues testify to his industry and zest; Ayni was very proud of his nation which had been humiliated for such a long time but had attained the requirements for establishing the highest scientific institution of its own. Every day he worked from seven o'clock in the morning till ten o'clock in the evening, writing the fourth volume of his *Reminiscences* at the same time. His responsible attitude to the highest scientific function is documented by a recollection of Academician B. Niyozmuhammadov, then Vice-President of the Academy. One day Ayni handed him a manuscript in the Presidium with the following words: "This is my yesterday's lecture on the state of Tajik philology. I have re-written and revised it seven times. Perhaps it is all right now. Please read it and have it typed ..."³⁸. Since the very beginning of its existence, the Academy progressed in a very hopeful way, several new institutes and departments being founded or detached. As early as in 1952, 203 persons were engaged in research in the Academy, among them 17 Doctors of Science and 85 Candidates of Science, out of whom 37 were Tajik men and 3 Tajik women³⁹.

³⁶ L.N. Demidchik, *Realisticheskoje obnovenije tadjihikskoj prozaicheskoj tradicii*. Self-report on a Doctorate Thesis. Dushanbe 1973, pp.17-20.

³⁷ The first scientific institutes were organized in Dushanbe in 1929. In 1932 the Tajik Basis (Baza) of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. was founded in Dushanbe. In 1941 it was turned into the Tajik Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. (34, p.469 ff).

³⁸ B. Niyozmuhammadov, *Zabonshinosii tojik*, Dushanbe 1970, p.297.

³⁹ *Iz istorii kul'turnogo stroitel'stva v Tadjikistane*, Vol.2, Dushanbe 1972, p.204.

Conclusions

For the Tajik nation Sadriddin is much more than merely an outstanding writer or the founder of modern scholarship. He numbers amongst the historical personalities who were able to show their contemporaries in which direction culture should proceed; he became the true Father of his nation. Ayni's activities were felt in the most varied fields. Thus he is also one of the founders of modern Tajik pedagogy. Though he had attended traditional Islamic schools with fossilized, scholastic teaching methods, he tried to raise the level of schools and teaching from the very moment he started to teach himself; he belonged to the pioneers of "the school with new methods" based on European pedagogy. At the beginning of the 20th century, the traditional school was still a long way from being acquainted with the principles of J.A.Komenský (Comenius)¹, such as the division of pupils into classes, teachers with fixed salaries, textbooks with attractive articles, but especially "that nothing should be learned in school for its own sake, but for its social value in life" (20, p.5). Ayni came near some of these requirements in his textbook *Tabzib-us-sib'en* (Education of Children) with non-religious contents in which he demanded, e.g., that a school should be built in a suitable and clean place, and refuted chastisements, especially the *falaq*, i.e. whipping on the soles of the feet, which was a common phenomenon at the *maktabs*, as described by Ayni in his *Maktabi kubna* (Old School, 57). He acknowledged, however, that the family also played an important role in education; parents should be aware of this fact from the tender age of their child, as he shows in his *Reminiscences*, in the artistic portrait of Habiba, Sadriddin and his brother, or Kholida in the book *Qizbola yo ki Kholida* (43). Ayni's efforts to give

¹ The first Tajik book on J.A.Komenský (Comenius) is the *Nazariyai pedagogii Yan Amos Komenskiy*, by B.Rahimov, Stalinobod 1960.

children textbooks connected with life are even more apparent in the Readers published in the Soviet period². Besides, all writings by Ayni were relevant contributions to the history of Tajik pedagogy, especially the books *Maktabi kuhna*, *Margi sudkhur* and *Yoddoshtho* containing rather detailed descriptions of the *maktab*, the *madrassa* and the way of teaching at both of them (91). Ayni was a teacher also from 1918 when he had to leave Bukhara and settle down in Samarkand³. In 1919 he founded here the first Uzbek children's magazine "Bolalar yuldoshi", the first of its kind in Central Asia. Let us add that all young Tajiks were being educated on the basis of Ayni's writings, from the middle of the twenties onwards - starting with the primary school where they read his *Marshi hurriyat* (March of Freedom) and ending with the highest classes where they devoured his *Odina*. The writer S.Ulughzoda recalls that Ayni's novel *Odina* marked the first steps of his generation in the modern language and its heroes Yodgor and Gulnor were companions of its childhood and youth (105, p.111). Literature was studied from his *Namunai adabiyoti tojik*, published in 1926⁴.

No less relevant and extensive were Ayni's journalistic writings. Ayni who belonged to the second generation of enlighteners, according to Zarif Rajabov, attempted to convey his ideas to as many members of his nation as possible - not only the Tajiks but also the Uzbeks. It would be difficult to find a significant event or matter which was not reacted to by Ayni in an article or a poem published in a paper or a magazine. Such was the case in part even before the Revolution but especially afterwards when Ayni wrote for perhaps all

² E.g. in the first Reader for the 4th class of primary schools, the *Soli cahorum* (in Latin script) compiled by Rahim Hoshim (Mim), we may find 23 short articles and stories by Ayni.

³ Cf. also M.Orifi, *S.Ayni hamchun pedagog*, "Maktabi soveti", 1950, No.3, pp.9-12; A.G.Ganiev, *S.Ayni o nekotorykh voprosakh obuchenija detej*, "Trudy uzbekskogo gos.univ.im.Alishera Navoi", N.S., vyp.70, Samarkand 1957, pp.107-128; A.Khabibov i I.Nikolajev, *Ayni-pedagog*, Dushanbe 1974; M.Saidova, *S.Ayni - navisandai bachagon*, in: *Maqolabo oid ba adabiyoti bachagona*, Dushanbe 1967, pp.142-190.

⁴ Cf. B.Niyozmuhammadov, *Zabonshinosii tojik*, Dushanbe 1970, p.293.

Tajik and Uzbek press. His bibliography comprises 115 articles in Tajik and 52 in Uzbek, not including treatises of a special character (86). Thus in his articles, Long Live the Soviet Bukhara, Letters from Bukhara, The Bukhara Revolution, etc., meant for the broad masses of ordinary people, he described the aims of the Revolution in an easily comprehensible language and spoke of the liberation from the bonds of oppression which Revolution was bringing to the working people, the policy of the Soviets and the conveyance of land and water to farmers. He showed what the Emir and his Court were like. Ayni may be called the founder of Central Asian journalism⁵. In the magazine "Mashrab" alone, he published 30 essays, satirical and journalistic articles under various pen-names, such as Battol (Prattler), Bukhoradan kim kishi (Someone from Bukhara) etc.

In 1919-1921, Ayni wrote a series of articles for the *Shu'layi inqilob* (Flame of Revolution) entitled *What the Soviet Government Has Given Us*, which was of special importance for convincing the people. Thus in 1919, he wrote in the issue No.24: "... the Soviet government has relieved us of the old régime and led us to culture and science. If fifty years more had passed the name of Turkestan would probably have disappeared from the pages of history ...".

The subjects of his journalistic articles included also events abroad, especially the struggle of Asian peoples for liberation. Such are the articles, *Arise Enslaved East*, *The Time of Fight Has Come*, *The Soviet Government of Turkestan* and *The Eastern Question*, *From Slavery to the Rule*, *The Relations of the Afghan Government to the Government of the Soviet Bukhara Republic*, etc.; as late as in 1934, Ayni wrote a journalistic article opposing the way in which an American journalist disparaged the achievements of construction in Central Asian republics, in the "New York Times"⁶. It is evident from all these facts how far Ayni had gone from his original designation to become a *mullah* and how he was able to free himself from religious scholastic and Islamic dogmas which had been hammered

⁵ Cf. Madzhit Khasanov, *Idejno-khudozhestvennye osobennosti publicistiki Sadriddina Ayni*. Self-report on the Candidate Thesis, Tashkent 1969, p.10.

⁶ "Mushtum", 1954, No.4; abridged in "Krokodil", 1954, No.7.

into his head at the Bukhara *madrasas* for fifteen years. In this connection we may mention the interesting idea by the Iranian scholar I. Purhadi that "Ayni's philosophy is rooted in Islamic socialism. Well acquainted with Mazdakism as he was, communism and socialism were no new ideological systems for him" ⁷.

In each of his treatises, Ayni was able to say something new. It is typical of him, as stated by the Tajik literary historian and writer, Rasul Hodizoda, that "even his scholarly works were written for all readers, not for a narrow circle of men of letters" ⁸, which was undoubtedly a very important and useful feature of his writings in a period when modern Tajik science was still being born. In spite of all his novelty, Ayni remained a national man of letters, a man connected with the innermost traditions of the people of Central Asia. This is true also of his outward expressions - his dress, his customs and even his habit of snuffing the *nos*, widespread in Central Asia (105, p.88). New ideas were coming gradually and mediately. In the Introduction to his treatise on Ferdousi, he complained of not being able to make use of the results of European research because he knew "neither any European language nor Russian". He spoke of European Oriental studies with respect: "I have heard that a certain Nöldeke, a German scholar, has found information on the writing of the *Shāhnāme* and its author in the *Shāhnāme* itself" ⁹; for this reason he chose the same method of analysing the very text.

We cannot omit Ayni's heartfelt relation to the arising modern Soviet Tajik literature as a whole. As has been pointed out already, perhaps all younger (and sometimes even older) men of letters were his pupils not only in that they were inspired by his writings but also directly, by being in frequent working contact with Ayni; he read their writings attentively before or after publication, discussed their work with them and conveyed his opinion in his letters. Apart from

⁷ Ibrahim V. Pourhadi, *Soviet Tajik Literature*, "Middle Eastern Journal", 20, 1966, p.113.

⁸ R. Hodizoda, *Tadqiqoti ilmi Sadridin Ayni oid ba ta'rikhi adabiyoti tojik*, "Sharqi surkh", 1950, No.8, pp.98-114.

⁹ *Dar borai Firdavsi va Shohnomai u* (65, p.133).

this, as early as towards the beginning of the twenties, he wrote a few articles of literary criticism about the promising prose writer Badriddin Azizi (1895-1944), in the magazine "Rahbari donish". We have already shown how exactly he pointed out the substance of the literary language and the use of colloquial elements in a literary work, in his *Open Letter to P.Tolis*. Well known are also his letters to A.Dehoti, some of which covered several pages and contained very relevant advice and reflections¹⁰. The outstanding prose writer Jalil Rahim, as stated by himself later on, had read his first book *Gulru* to Ayni for four hours and then revised it according to his comments. After the publication of the novel, Ayni read it once more thoroughly and annotated it minutely, which made the author revise it again¹¹. Jalol Ikromi was one of Ayni's pupils since his very start in literature and accepted his advice to prefer prose to poetry¹². One of his first short stories, the *Shirin*, he revised six or seven times, at Ayni's suggestions, and Ayni's comments on his first novel *Shodi* were "a manuscript from a literary school" (107, p.82). At the Third Congress of the Union of Tajik Writers, its President Mirzo Tursunzoda said: "Who of us has not experienced the fatherly care of our Master Sadriddin Ayni, in his literary career? ... without him, the way of J.Ikromi, S.Ulughzoda, R.Jalil, F.Niyozzi and other outstanding writers would probably have been much more difficult"¹³. Very warm was also Ayni's relation with the prominent Iranian poet Abolqāsem Lāhuti (Abulqosim Lohuti, 1887-1957) who had lived in the U.S.S.R. since 1923, spent some time in Central Asia and had extraordinary merits in the renaissance of Tajik poetry. In 1933 Ayni

¹⁰ Reminiscences of A.Dehoti, in the article *Hikoyabo doir ba muloqoti man bo ustodi Ayni*, "Sharqi surkh", 1962, No.4, pp.111-121 (127-131). See also A.Dehoti, *Kullyot*, Vol.5, Dushanbe 1966, pp.258-263, 268-276, 279-293 etc.

¹¹ Cf. Khursheda Otakhonova, *Qaydhoi ustod Ayni doir ba romani "Odamoni jovid"*, "Sharqi surkh", 1958, No.7, pp.136-145.

¹² J.Ikromi, *Javonii nasri tojik*, "Sharqi surkh", 1954, No.1, p.57.

¹³ *Zamoni mo va vazifaboi adabiyoti sovetii tojik*, "Maorif va madaniyat", 1961, No.68 (3rd June 1961), p.4.

wrote a poem celebrating this "world revolutionary and bolshevik" ¹⁴ and according to information by Rohim Hoshim, Ayni and Lāhuti read the each other's poems and advised each other on their improvement ¹⁵.

Ayni stimulated translations of the best Russian books into Tajik, which was a university for Tajik writers. Among Russian authors, Ayni had a great respect especially for Maxim Gorkij whom he met at the First Congress of Soviet Writers in Moscow in 1934. Ayni declared himself to be a pupil of Gorkij and Gorkij's portrait adorned the wall of his study (105, p.72). Under Ayni's editorship, translations of Gorkij's *Mother*, *Childhood* and other books into Tajik appeared. In an article written in honour of Gorkij, Ayni confessed that Gorkij had always been his model, especially in the utilization of folklore in art literature. As a proof of this he stated that there had been little folklore in his novel *Odina*, but more in *Dokbunda*, due to Gorkij's influence, and most of all in the book *The Slaves*. M. Shukurov proved that through Ayni, the tradition of Gorkij penetrated into all literatures of Central Asia. Ayni had a part in the publication of *The Disturbed Land* by M.Sholokhov which he edited. This book also influenced his *Slaves* ¹⁶. On the other hand, Ayni influenced the writings of the Russian author P.G.Skosyrev (1900-1960) ¹⁷. Sadriddin Ayni highly appreciated Majakovskij verse, an expression of which in his poem *Ba Mayakovskiy* (To Majakovskij, 1950) showing that he had known some of his poetry as early as in 1918 ¹⁸.

Let us add a few words on Ayni's significance for Uzbek literature. The majority of his prose writings and a part of his verse appeared also in Uzbek from his own pen. In addition he wrote a number of poems in Uzbek only and contributed to the appreciation of the

¹⁴ *Rafiqi sadiq, ʃoiri cabonʃumuli inqilobi bolʃevic Lobuti* (in Latin script), "Baroyi adabiyoti sotsialisti", 1933, Nos.5-6, p.22.

¹⁵ Rahim Hoshim, *Ayni va nazmi tojik dar dab soli avvali Oktyabr*, "Sharqi surkh", 1961, No.4, p.112.

¹⁶ R.Khoshim, *Sholokhov i Ayni*, "Pamir", 1975, No.5, p.63.

¹⁷ Yu.Andrianov, *Neizvestaaya stranica*, "Pamir", 1970, No.2 pp.98-100.

¹⁸ R.Musulmonqulov, *Talabi zamon va robitai adabi*, Dushanbe 1971, p.15.

legacy of Alisher Navoi, the founder of Old Uzbek literature. Ayni's bilingual writings are a fruit of the long-standing friendship and brotherhood of the Uzbek and the Tajik nations¹⁹. Ayni was the founder of socialist realism in Uzbek literature as well. He helped not only Tajik, but also Uzbek writers, such as Gh.Ghulom, Abdullo Qodiri, Oybek, Parda Tursun etc.²⁰. Lastly Ayni wrote a drama in Uzbek²¹. In order to complete the picture of Ayni's many-sided genius, let us mention that he was also an expert in Central Asian music; his contribution to this field has not yet been fully appreciated²² -

Sadriddin Ayni was a great personality in the history of Tajik culture, and in connection with the role played by Persian-Tajik literature in the whole of Central Asia and the Near East in general, he has outgrown this frame to become an outstanding personality of the whole so-called Islamic area. Mehti Hüseyin, a foremost Azerbaijan writer, said in 1958: "In my opinion, S.Ayni was one of those prominent personalities of literature with whose name is connected the great school of Eastern realism". The Uzbek poet Mir-muhsin calls Ayni, in one of his poems, "Hāfez and Sa'di of our age"²³. As early as in 1893, the Kazakh writer Turmagambet was a member of Ayni's Literary Circle and translated the *Shāhnāme* into Kazakh, at his suggestion²⁴. Kirghiz writers bowing before Ayni's tomb in Dushanbe in 1961 said: "Master Ayni is also our

¹⁹ *Istoriya uzbekskoj sovetskoj literatury*, Moskva 1967, p.454; Kh.Kor-Ogly, *Uzbekskaja literatura*, Moskva 1976, p.184.

²⁰ Temur Shahobov, *Darsi bunar*, "Sadoi Sharq", 1969, No.4, p.98.

²¹ Cf. Sh.Huseynzoda, *Dar borai yak p'esai hajvii ustod S.Ayni*, In: *Bash va andesha*. Dushanbe 1964, pp.150-168.

²² See, e.g., Z.Shahidi, *Ustod Ayni va musiqii tojik*, "Maorif va madaniyat", 4th Jan. 1977, pp.3-4.

²³ "Sadoi Sharq", 1974, No.10, p.96.

²⁴ U.Kumisbaev, *Tugmagambet Iztleuov i ego "Rustem-dastan"*, Self-report on the Candidate Thesis, Moskva 1974, p.5. See also A.Sayfulloev, *Ba'ze ma'lumoti toza oid ba ravobiti adabii khalqhoi tojik va qazoq*, "Sadoi Sharq", 1959, No.12, pp.117-119.

beloved and well-known poet. Kirghiz readers read his writings with great interest"²⁵. At the Second Conference of Asian and African Writers in Cairo, in the 12th-16th February 1962, Sadriddin Ayni was mentioned as one of the outstanding cultural personalities of the two continents, side by side with Lu Hsun and Taha Huseyn. Ayni, the most frequently translated Tajik author, is an outstanding mediator in making the world acquainted with Tajik culture and has thus become a significant factor in understanding it²⁶. Sadriddin Ayni is the greatest personality of Tajik culture in recent centuries.

²⁵ "Sharqi surkh", 1958, No.5, p.97.

²⁶ E.g., K.A.Fedin told the Tajik writer F.Niyozzi that due to Ayni, he had become a sincere admirer of the great Tajik culture (105, p.47).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Containing basic sources on the period, life and writings of Sadriddin Ayni, especially publications referred to in the foregoing text and notes: the numbers in italics, in brackets, refer to the items of the following list, the respective volumes and pages.

History of Central Asia

1. Allworth, E. (Ed.): *Central Asia. A Century of Russian Rule*, New York - London 1967.
2. Aminov, A.M., Babakhojaev, A.Kh.: *Ekonomicheskie i politicheskie posledstvija prisoedinenija Srednej Azii k Rossii* (Economic and political consequences of the annexation of Central Asia by Russia), Tashkent 1966.
3. Aripov (Orifi), M.: *Iz istorii pedagogicheskoy mysli tadzhikskogo naroda* (From the pedagogical thought of the Tajik people), 2 vols, Dushanbe 1962 and 1965.
4. Aul, J.: *V zemi Tamerlanově a Zarathuštrově* (In the land of Tamerlan and Zoroaster), Praha 1923.
5. Bečka, J.: *Národnostní a územní rozhraničení Střední Asie* (Ethnic and regional delimitation in Central Asia), in : "Časopis československých historiků", 23, 1975, pp.377-394.
6. Becker, S.: *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924*, Cambridge 1968.
7. Bendrikov, K.E.: *Očerki po istorii narodnogo obrazovanija v Turkestane (1865-1924 gody)* (A sketch of the history of the people's education in Turkestan (1865-1924), Moskva 1960.
- 7a. Benningsen, A. et Ch.Lemercier-Quelquejay: *La presse et le mouvement national chez les musulmanes de Russie avant 1920*, Paris - La Haye 1964.
8. Gafurov, B.G.: *Tadžbiki* (Tajiks), Moskva 1972.

9. Gafurov, B.G.: *Istorija tadzhikskogo naroda* (A history of the Tajik nation), Moskva 1955.
10. Gafurov, B., Prokhorov, N.N.: *Padenie Bukharskogo emirata* (The fall of the Bukhara Emirate), Stalinabad 1940.
11. Gafurova, K.A.: *Bor'ba za internatsional'noe splochenie trudjashchikhsja Srednej Azii i Kazakhstana v pervye gody Sovetskoj vlasti (1917-1924)* (The struggle for the international unity of the working people of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the initial years of the Soviet rule (1917-1924), Moskva 1972.
12. Fait, E.: *Středoasijské národové, zvláště na území ruském* (Central Asian nations, especially in the territory of Russia), Praha 1910.
13. Gordienko, A.A.: *Obrazovanie Turkestanskoy ASSR* (The creation of the Turkestan ASSR), Moskva 1968.
14. Iskandarov, B.I.: *Iz istorii bukharskogo emirata* (From the history of the Bukhara Emirate), Moskva 1958.
15. Iskandarov, B.I.: *O nekotorykh izmenenijakh v ekonomike vostochnoj Bukhary na rubezhe XIX-XX vv* (On certain changes in the economy of Eastern Bukhara at the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries), Stalinabad 1958.
16. Iskandarov, B.I.: *Vostochnaja Bukhara i Pamir v period prisoeдинenija Srednej Azii k Rossii* (Eastern Bukhara and the Pamir in the period of the annexation of the Central Asia by Russia), Dushanbe 1960.
17. Iskandarov, B.I.: *Iz istorii dorevoljucionnogo Tadzhikistana* (From the history of the pre-revolutionary Tajikistan), Dushanbe 1974.
18. *Istorija tadzhikskogo naroda* (A history of the Tajik nation), 3 vols (5 books), Moskva 1963-1965.
19. Krader, L.: *Peoples of Central Asia*, Bloomington-The Hague 1966
20. Makašov, A.V.: *Partavi Oktyabr' dar Bukhoro* (A reflection of the October in Bukhara), Dushanbe 1969.
21. Medlin, W.K., Cave W.M., Carpenter F.: *Education and Development in Central Asia. A Case Study on Social Change in Uzbekistan*, Leiden 1971.
22. Pahlen, K.K.: *Mission to Turkestan*, New York - Toronto 1964.

23. Pierce, R.A.: *Russian Central Asia 1867-1917*, Berkeley - Los Angeles 1960.
24. Radzhabov, Z.: *Iz istorii obshchestvenno-politicheskoy mysli tadzhikskogo naroda vo vtoroj polovine XIX i nachale XX vv.* (From the history of the socio-political thought of the Tajik people in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century), Stalinabad 1957.
25. Radzhabov, Z.Sh.: *Razvitie nauki v Tadzhikskoj SSR* (Advancement of science in the Tajik SSR), Moskva 1964.
26. Radzhabov, Z.: *Dorogoj znanij* (On the path to knowledge), Dushanbe 1975.
27. Radzhabov, Z.: *Turkestan na stranitsakh bol'shevistskikh gazet perioda russkoj revolyutsii (1905-1907 gg.)* (Turkestan on the pages of Bolshevik newspapers in the period of the Russian Revolution (1905-1907)), Dushanbe 1970.
28. Sabirov, K.: *Tadzhikskaja sotsialisticheskaja natsija - detishche Oktyabrya* (The Tajik socialist nation - a child of the October), Dushanbe 1967.
- 28a. Sarkisyanz, E.: *Geschichte der orientalischen Völker Russlands bis 1917*, München 1961.
29. Spuler, B. (Ed.): *Geschichte Mittelasiens*, Leiden-Köln 1966.
30. Semenov, A.A.: *Oчерк ustrojstva tsentral'nogo administrativnogo upravlenija Bukharskogo khanstva pozdnejshego vremeni* (A sketch of the central administrative government of the Bukhara Khanate in the later period), in: *Materialy po istorii tadzhikov i uzbekov Srednej Azii* (Materials concerning the history of the Tajiks and the Uzbeks of Central Asia), Vol 2, Stalinabad 1954.
31. Sukhareva, O.A.: *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX v.* (Bukhara. From the 19th to beginning of the 20th century), Moskva 1966.
32. Sharipov, Ya.: *Iz istorii postroenija fundamenta sotsializma v Tadzhikistane (1929-1932 gg.)* (From the history of the construction of the basis of socialism in Tajikistan (1929-1932)), Stalinabad 1960.
33. Shukurov, M.R.: *Revoljuciyai madani dar Tojikiston* (A cultural revolution in Tajikistan), Stalinobod 1957.

34. Shukurov, M.R.: *Istoriya kul'turnoj zhizni sovetского Tadzhikistana* (A history of the cultural life of Soviet Tajikistan), Dushanbe 1970.
35. Tuzmammedov, R.: *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia*, Moscow 1973.
36. Wheeler, G.: *The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia*, London 1964.

Writings of Sadriddin Ayni

37. *Tabzib-us-sib'en* (Education of young people), Samarqand 1909/10.
38. *Zaruriyati diniya* (The necessity of religion), Bukhoro 1914.
39. *Tartil-ul-qur'on* (The recitation of the Koran), Bukhoro s.a.
40. *Bukhoro jallodlari* (The hangmen of Bukhara), "Inqilob", 1922, No.3-8, in Uzbek.
41. *Akhgari inqilob* (Spark of revolution), Bukhoro 1923.
42. *Ta'rikhi amironi manghitiyai Bukhoro* (A history of the Manghit Emirs of Bukhara), Toshkand 1923, (Kull.10, 84, pp.5-191).
43. *Qizbola yo ki kholida* (A girl, or Kholida), Berlin 1932, in Uzbek.
44. *Namunai adabiyoti tojik* (An image of Tajik literature), Moskva 1926.
45. *Bukhoro inqilobi ta'rikhi uchun materiallar* (Materials for the history of the Bukhara revolution), Moskva 1926.
46. *Javobi man* (My answer), "Ovozi tojik", 7.2.1927.
47. *Dunyo'i nav va alifbo'i nav* (The new world and the new alphabet), "Ovozi tojik", 5.9.1927.
48. *Sarguzashti yak tojiki kambaghal yo ki Odina* (The fortunes of a poor Tajik, or Odina), Samarqand - Dushanbe 1927, (Kull.1, 84, pp.183-327). Translated in Russian, Uzbek, Persian and Uighur).
49. Dyushen (Duchêne), Ferdinand: *Qamar* (The belt), Samarqand 1928, translated from Uzbek by S.Ayni.
50. *Dar atrofi zaboni forsi va tojiki* (On the Persian and Tajik language), "Rahbari donish" 1928, No.4-5, pp.22-24. Also in "Akhgari inqilob", No.41, pp.98-104.

51. *Mas'alai ta'rikkī* (A historical question), "Rahbari donish", 1958, No.10, pp.6-7.
52. *Zaboni tojikī* (The Tajik language), "Rahbari donish", 1928, No. 11/12, pp.43-47. Also in "Akhgari inqilob", No.41, pp.105-114.
53. *Dokbunda* (The highlander), Qazan 1930, (Kull.2). Translated in Russian, Uighur, Malay, Hindi.
54. *Dokbunda* (The highlander), Toshkent 1932, in Uzbek.
55. *Qullar* (Slaves), Toshkent 1934, in Uzbek.
56. *Gbulomon* (Slaves), Samarqand 1935, (Kull.3). Transl. in Russian, Polish, Uighur.
57. *Maktabi kūbna* (The old school), Samarqand 1935, (Kull.5, pp. 51-92), Transl. in Roumanian, Russian, Uighur, Chinese.
58. *Yodgorī* (A souvenir), Samarqand 1935.
59. *Ahmadi devband* (Ahmad the magician), Leningrad 1937, (Kull. 5, pp.5-36).
60. *Jallodoni Bukhoro* (The hangmen of Bukhara), Leningrad 1937 (Kull.1, pp.101-182). A part in "French Revue de Moscou", 1941, No.4, pp.14-15.
61. *Shaykhburrais Abūali Sino*, Stalinobod 1939, (Kull.11, pp.51-88).
62. *Margi sudkhur* (The death of a usurer), Stalinobod 1939, (Kull. 4, pp.6-182). Transl. in French *La mort de l'usurier*, Paris 1957; in German *Der Tod des Wucherers*, Berlin 1966; in Czech *Lichvářova smrt*, Praha 1957. Also in Russian, Uzbek, Polish, Roumanian and Hungarian.
63. *Yatim* (The orphan), Stalinobod 1940, (Kull.4, pp.183-345). Transl. in Russian, Uzbek, Hindi.
64. Alisher Navoi: *Khamsa* (Ed. S.Ayni), Toshkent 1940. In Uzbek.
65. *Dar borai Firdavsi va "Shohnoma"-i ū* (Ferdousi and his Shāhnāme), Leningrad 1940, (Kull.11, pp.7-50).
66. *Jangi odamu ob* (The fight of man against water), Leningrad 1940.
67. *Obi bayot* (The living water), Stalinobod 1940. Together with M.Tursunzoda, M.Dehoti and H.Yusufi.
68. *Ustod Rudakī* (Master Rudaki), Stalinobod 1940. Together with A.Dehoti.
69. *Shaykh Muslibiddin Sa'dii Sberozi*, Stalinobod 1942.
70. *Is'eni Muqanna'* (The resurrection of Muqanna), Stalinobod 1944,



- (Kull. 10, pp.194-284).
71. *Qabramoni khalqi tojik Temurmali*k (Temurmali, a hero of the Tajik people), Stalinobod 1944, (Kull.5, pp.141-218).
 72. Shaykh Sa'di: *Mukhtasari "Bustan"* (Sheikh Sa'di: Selections from the Bustan) (Ed. S.Ayni), Stalinobod 1945.
 73. *Alisher Navoi*, Stalinobod 1948, (Kull.11, pp.265-470).
 74. *Ta'rikhi mukhtasari khalqi tojik* (A short history of the Tajik nation; "Sharqi surkh", 1952, No.6, pp.3-8).
 75. *Yoddoshtho* (Reminiscences). Vol.1 Bukhoro 1949; vol.2, Bukhoro 1949; vol.3, Bukhoro 1950; vol.4 Stalinobod 1954 (Kull. 6 and 7). Transl. in Russian, Uzbek, English: separate chapters in the "Soviet Literature", Moscow 1953, No.9, pp.9-89; *ibid.*, 1967, No.9, pp.5-20; "New Orient" Bimonthly, Prague 1960, No.4, pp.18-20. In German: *Erringerungen*, Leipzig 1955; in French *Boukhara*, Paris 1956. Selections in Czech, Bengali, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Spanish, Polish, Uighur, Persian and Chinese.
 76. *Chahor darvesh* (Four dervishes) (Edited and introduced by S. Ayni), Stalinobod 1951, (Kull.11, pp.241-248).
 77. *Oid ba vaz'iyati zabonshinosii tojik* (On the present state of Tajik linguistics), "Sharqi surkh", 1952, No.6, pp.3-8.
 78. *Vosifi va khulosai "Badoe'-ul-vaqoe'"* (Vasefi and selections from the Badāe'-ul-vaqāe'), Stalinobod 1956.
 79. *Mirzo Abdulqodiri Bedil* (Mirzā Abdulqādir Bedil), Stalinobod 1954.
 80. *Mukhtasari tarjimai holi khudam* (My concise biography), Stalinobod 1958, (Kull.1, pp.7-98). Transl. in English: *Pages from my own Story. Memoirs*, Moscow 1958. Also in Russian, Uzbek, Arab, Bengali, Urdu.
 81. *Ash'ori muntakhab* (Selected poems), Stalinobod 1958.
 82. *Akhgari inqilob* (Spark of revolution), Dushanbe 1974.
 83. *Lughati nimtafsili tojikī baroi zaboni adabii tojik* (A semi-explanatory dictionary of the literary Tajik language), Dushanbe 1976, (Kull. 12).
 84. *Kulliyot* (Collected writings), Stalinobod (Dushanbe) 1958-1976, vols 1-7 and 9-12.

Publications on Sadriddin Ayni, his writings and activities

85. Abdullozoda, R.: *Zarbulmasal va maqolho dar asarhoi Sadriddin Ayni* (Proverbs and sayings in the writings of S.A.), Stalinobod 1958.
86. Azizqulov, J., Mullojonova, Z.: *Febrasti asarhoi S.Ayni va adabiyoti oid ba ũ to okhiri soli 1961* (A list of the writings of S.A. and on him, till the end of 1961), Dushanbe 1963.
87. Bečka, J.: *Tajik Literature from the 16th Century to the Present*, in the book: *History of Iranian Literature* by Jan Rypka, Dordrecht 1968, pp.483-605 and 814-831.
88. Bečka, J.: *Tradition in Margi sudkbūr, the Novel by Sadriddin Ayni*, Archív orientální 35, 1967, pp.352-371.
89. Bečka, J.: *The Historical Veracity and Topicality of the Novel Margi sudkbūr by Sadriddin Ayni*, in: *Yādnāme* by Jan Rypka, Prague 1967, pp.197-207.
90. Bečka, J.: *Two Outstanding Satires of Modern Tajik and Iranian Literatures*, Archív orientální 38, 1970, pp.400-430.
91. Bečka, J.: *Traditional School in the Work of Sadriddin Ayni and other Writers of Central Asia*, Archív orientální 39, 1971, pp. 284-321 and 40, 1972, pp.130-163.
92. Bektosh, N.: *Sadriddin Ayni va ʿodiyoti ũ*, (S.A. and his writings), Stalinobod 1933 (in Latin script).
93. Boboev, Yu.I.: *Sadriddin Ayni*, Dushanbe 1968.
94. Braginskij, I.S.: *Sadriddin Ayni*, Oчерк zhizni i tvorchestva (A sketch of the life and the writings), Stalinabad 1954.
95. Braginskij, I.S.: *Zbizn' i tvorchestvo Sadriddina Ayni* (The life and the writings of S.A.), Moskva 1959.
96. Braginskij, I.S.: *Hayot va ejodiyoti Sadriddin Ayni* (The life and the writings of S.A.), Dushanbe 1968.
97. Braginskij, I.S.: *Problemy tvorchestva Sadriddina Ayni* (Problems of the writings of S.A.), Dushanbe 1974.
98. *Jashnnomai Ayni*, Vol.1, Stalinobod 1960; vol.2, Dushanbe 1963; vol.3, Dushanbe 1966; vol.4, Dushanbe 1971.
99. Halimov, A., Nikolaev, I.: *Ayni - pedagog* (Ayni the pedagogue), Dushanbe 1974.

100. Halimov, S.: *S.Ayni - leksikograf* (Ayni the lexicographer), Dushanbe 1974.
101. Halimov, S.: *Sadriddin Ayni va ba'ze mas'alahoī inkishofi zaboni adabii tojik* (S.A. and some questions of the development of the literary Tajik language), Dushanbe 1974.
102. Hasanov, M.: *Sadriddin Ayniy va Fajzulla Khūzbaev* (S.A. and F.Kh.), Toshkent 1968. In Uzbek.
103. Khasanov, M.: *Idejno-khudozhestvennye osobennosti publicistiki Sadriddina Ayni* (The ideological-artistic characteristics of the journalistic writings of S.A.), Tashkent 1969.
104. Hoshim, R.: *Sukhan az ustodon va duston* (A word on the Master and the friends), Dushanbe 1971.
105. Hoshim, R. (Ed.): *Sadriddin Ayni dar khotiroti dūston va shogirdon* (S.A. in the reminiscences of his friends and pupils), Dushanbe 1968.
106. Huseynov, X.: *Zabon va uslubi "Odina"-i ustod Ayni* (The language and the style of the Odina by Master Ayni), Dushanbe 1973.
107. Ikromi, J.: *Ustodi man, maktabi man, khudi man* (My teacher, my school and myself), Dushanbe.
108. Karimova, A.: *Rol' Sadriddina Ayni v razvitii sovremennogo tadzhikskogo literaturnogo jazyka*, Moskva 1954.
109. Maniyozov, A.: *Publicistika va nazmi ustod Ayni* (Journalistic writings and poetry by S.A.), Dushanbe 1958.
110. Maniyazov, A.: *Rannee tvorchestvo S.Ayni i ego mesto v revolyutsionnoj literature Blizhnego Vostoka* (The early writings by S.A. and his place in the revolutionary literature of the Middle East), Moskva 1960.
111. Ma'sumi, N.: *Ocherkho oid ba inkishofi zaboni adabii tojik* (Sketches on the advancement of the literary Tajik language), Stalinobod 1959.
112. Niyazov, X.N.: *Put' Sadriddina Ayni - poeta* (The pilgrimage of S.A. the poet), Moskva 1965.
113. Nozimov, B.: *Sposoby tipizatsii obrazov v povestjakh i romanakh S.Ayni* (Typification of images in the stories and novels by S.A.), Dushanbe 1971.

114. Piemontese, A.M.: *Il vate del Tajikistan*, in: *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Vol.II, Milano 1970, pp.110-116.
115. Rakhmatullaev, A.: *Proza Ayni* (Ayni's prose writings), Dushanbe 1970.
116. Radzhabov, S.: *Sadriddin Ayni - istorik tadzhikskogo naroda* (S. A. - the historian of the Tajik nation), Stalinabad 1951.
117. Rypka, J.: *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968.
118. Rypka, J.: *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, pp. 426-431.
119. Sayfulloev, A.: *Obrazi qabramononi musbati muboriz dar romanhoi ustod Sadriddin Ayni* (The image of a fighting hero in the novels of Master S.A.), Stalinobod 1960.
120. Sayfulloev, A.: *Romani ustod Sadriddin Ayni "Dokhunda"* (The novel Dokhunda by Master S.A.), Dushanbe 1966.
121. Scarcia, G.: *Letteratura persiana*, Milano 1969, pp.440-443.
122. Shukurov, M.: *Khususiyathoi ghoyaviyu badei "Yoddoshtho"-i ustod S.Ayni* (The ideological-artistic characteristics of the Reminiscences of Master S.A.), Dushanbe 1966.
123. Shukurov, M.: *Ob idejnykh i khudozhestvennykh osobennostyakh "Vospominaniy" S.Ayni* (On the ideological and artistic characteristics of the Reminiscences by S.A.), Self-report on the Candidate Thesis, Moskva 1954.
124. Tabarov, S.: *Sadriddin Ayni - osnovopolozhnik tadzhikskoj sovetской literatury* (S.A. the founder of Tajik Soviet literature), Dushanbe 1966.
125. Tabarov, S.: *Sadriddin Ayni - saroyandai revolyutsiyai kabiri sotsialistii Okt'yabr'* (S.A. the bard of the Great Soviet Revolution), Stalinobod 1958.
126. *Dictionary of Oriental Literatures*, London 1974.



43818

CFI 0063850